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PAGE

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PAGE

advantages of this journey—His reception from Henry on his return—Justification of the Duke of Epernon, falsely accused —New intrigues of the Count of Auvergne—Means used by Henry to have him arrested—Letters which he received and wrote to him—An account of his being seized—His trial—The Marchioness of Verneuil is likewise arrested—Rosny is employed to interrogate her—He can, neither by advice nor entreaties, persuade Henry to banish her from France—Weakness of this prince for his mistress 40

BOOK XIX.—[1604.]

Henry IV. deposits his treasure in the Bastille—A council held on this occasion—Considerations and maxims of Rosny upon government—Means he makes use of to recover money—Verification of rents—Other operations and details of the finances —Regulations of the police and army—Establishment of a military hospital—The talents and abilities of Henry IV. for government—Causes of the weakness of States—Rupture between France and Spain on account of commerce—Peace restored by Rosny by means of a treaty—Particulars and substance of the treaty—Further account of the affairs of the United Provinces, of Spain, and of England—Agreement and treaty between the two last powers—Causes of the discontent of the United Provinces against England—The Constable of Castile comes to Paris—His conversation with the king—Other conversations between Henry and Rosny concerning this ambassador—Erroneous maxim of Rosny on the Salique law—Introduction to the execution of Henry's great designs—Affairs of the Grisons, and of the Fort of Fuentes—Proceedings of the French, and other particulars, on this affair—Dispute with the Pope on the subject of the bridge of Avignon—Terminated by Rosny in favour of the king—The acquisition of the earldom of St. Paul—Prudent advice given by Rosny to Henry on this occasion—Religious orders established in France 80

BOOK XX.—[1605.]

Conclusion of the process against the Counts of Auvergne and Entragues—Complaisance and weakness of Henry IV. for the

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Marchioness of Verneuil—The Jesuits procure the demolition of the pyramid — Great dispute between Rosny and Father Cotton on the subject of the college of Poictiers—He defends himself against the calumnies of his enemies—His reconciliation with Father Cotton—He quarrels with the Duke of Epernon and Grillon—Their reconciliation—Instances of the fantastical humour of Grillon—New calumnies against Rosny, by which he is in danger of being disgraced—An affecting conversation with Henry, in which they are reconciled — An interesting detail of this whole affair—Another attempt of Rosny's enemies to ruin him—Marriage of his daughter with the Duke of Rohan —Henry refuses the Duke of Rohan the lieutenancy of St. Jean d'Angély—Further favours refused or granted by the king to Rosny—The king's design of marrying Mademoiselle de Melun to the Marquis of Cœuvres 122

BOOK XXI.—[1605.]

Details of the finances and of government—Reflections of the author upon the *taille, gabelle,* &c.—Debts of France—Discharged —Flourishing state of the kingdom—Henry the Fourth's application to State affairs — His letters to Rosny — Death of Clement VII.—Leo XI. owes his exaltation to the protection of Henry—His death—Pope Paul V.—Panegyric of the embassy of the Count of Bethune—Brief of Paul V. to Rosny—The esteem in which this minister is held at Rome—Further affairs of Spain, Flanders, and England—The Kings of France and England dissatisfied with Spain—Affairs of the Protestants— Informations given to Henry of their bad designs—Rosny's opinion of the present state of that body — Indisposition of Henry — Assembly of the Protestants at Châtellerault — The views of Henry and the Huguenots in calling this assembly— Rosny sent thither on the part of the king—His public and private instructions—His conversation with Queen Margaret— Intrigues of the Duke of Bouillon and his party against Rosny —His wise conduct in the assembly—His bold speech at the opening of it—He refuses to be president of the assembly . . 166

Digitized by Google

BOOK XXII.—[1605.]

PAGE

Continuation of the account of the assembly held at Châtellerault —New artifices of the Duke of Bouillon—His letters to the king and the assembly—Imprisonment of the Luquisses—Different advices given to Henry IV. concerning the seditious—Rosny's opinion of these advices—Rosny disconcerts the schemes of the Protestants at Châtellerault—He concludes everything at that assembly to the advantage and satisfaction of the king—The affairs of the deputies general—Affair of the cautionary cities, &c.—His advice is not regarded in the affair of Orange—Dismisses the assembly—Declares the king's pleasure to them—And returns to give an account of his proceedings to his majesty—Henry's journey to Limousin—Rosny accompanies him thither—Turenne, and the other places belonging to the Duke of Bouillon, surrender to the king—His majesty's return—Rosny holds the chamber *Les Grands Jours*—Meirargues and the two Luquisses beheaded—Death of Theodore de Beza—Rosny quarrels with the Count of Soissons on account of some privileges annexed to the post of master-general of the ordnance —With the Duke of Epernon on account of the city of Rochelle—Henry's reception of the deputies of this city—Rosny's return to Paris—Account of his proceedings—Queen Margaret arrives at Paris—Her reception from their majesties—Memorial of Rosny upon duels, wherein he explains the origin and the different customs of duelling—Henry's blamable indulgence in this respect—The good and bad fortune of this prince . . 212

BOOK XXIII.—[1606.]

Rosny presents medals to the king—The king and queen confer with Rosny on the subject of their quarrels—Conversation between Henry IV. and Rosny upon politics, in which they concert measures to humble the House of Austria—Rosny is made a duke and peer of France—The expedition to Sedan—Intrigues at court upon this occasion—Letters from the Duke of Sully to the Duke of Bouillon—His advice to Henry—Disgusted upon account of the treaty of Sedan—Complains of Villeroy—Sully's advice to Henry to seize the fortresses in the earldom of St. Paul, which is not listened to—Henry offended with him upon

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PAGE

account of his entry into Paris—Differences of Paul V. with the Venetians—Henry gives good advice to both parties—The city of Metz has a dispute with the Jesuits—New favours granted them by Henry—Adventure of Father Cotton on the subject of Adrienne de Fresne—Disputes upon religion—With the clergy, on the subject of the Council of Trent—Between the Catholics and the Protestants of Rochelle—Ceremony of the baptism of the children of France—Regulations upon the gabelle and the elections—Other operations and regulations in the finances—Private life of Henry—His amusements—Conversation between him and the courtiers—Military affairs in Spain and Flanders —Reflections upon this war—Other foreign affairs—Conspiracy against the King of England 255

BOOK XXIV.—[1607.]

Occupations and letters of Henry IV.—Death of the Chancellor Bellièvre—Birth of the second son of France—Henry's friendship for Sully, and his great confidence in him—A quarrel between them, in which Henry first seeks a reconciliation—Sully does the king great service in the assembly of the Protestants at Rochelle, in the dispute between Father Séguiran and the Rochellers—New grants made by Henry to the Jesuits—Plots carried on by Spain, in the court and the council, against Henry and Sully—A conversation between them on this subject, and Sully's advice to the king—He does the king other services in the quarrels which happen at court—A further account of the war between Spain and the United Provinces—Sully's sentiments concerning the offers made by the Flemings to the king —A council is held on that occasion—The Flemings gain a naval victory over the Spaniards—Conferences for a suspension of arms and for a truce—A further account of the disputes of Spain, the Grisons, and the Valtoline—Affairs of Germany, England, and other foreign States—The quarrel between the pope and the Venetians terminated by the mediation of Henry —Brief of Paul V. to Sully—Sully's labours in the finances, the police, and other parts of government—Artifices of the courtiers to ruin him—He forms the scheme of a new council, which is not carried into execution—Other affairs of the finances, government, &c.—Henry's expenses in gaming, in ma-

Digitized by Google

PAGE
nufactures, &c.—His private life and domestic uneasiness—He restores Sedan to the Duke of Bouillon 317

BOOK XXV.—[1608.]

Interludes and balls at the Arsenal—A pleasant adventure between the Duke of Sully and Pimentel—Great offers made by Henry to Sully, which the latter refuses—The amours and mistresses of Henry IV.—An interesting conversation between him and Sully on the uneasiness he suffered from the queen, the Marchioness of Verneuil, and their creatures—He employs Sully to pacify them—Birth of the third son of France—Sully is made umpire between the king and the Marchioness of Verneuil—Quarrels, in which the Prince of Joinville, the Count of Sommerive, and the Duke of Eguillon, are concerned, with other court intrigues—Difficulty of concluding the marriage of the Duke of Vendôme and Mademoiselle de Mercœur—A sedition among the heads of the Protestants, and the affairs of that party—Services which Sully does the king in the assembly of Protestants at Gergeau—Private life of Henry—He gives the Bishopric of Metz to the Duke of Verneuil—The clergy obtain some grants of the king, but are denied others—Henry carries on public works at his own expense—Money which he loses at play—A great rising of the Loire—Affairs of the finances, of the police, and other parts of the government—Sully's memorial upon the *taille*—Reflections upon the changes which have been made in the government of France—The Duke of Mantua comes to Paris—A further account of the affairs of the United Provinces—the truce is concluded—The part Henry has in it—The weak condition of Spain—The revolt of the Moors and their expulsion from Spain—Affairs of Germany 371

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XVII.

[1604.]

Medals presented to his majesty by Rosny—Death of the Duchess of Bar—Particulars concerning her death, and the disputes which it occasions—Deliberations upon the re-establishment of the Jesuits—Conversations of Rosny with Henry, and the arguments which he urges against their re-establishment—The conditions upon which they are recalled—Protection granted them by Henry—Father Cotton makes his court to Rosny—Memorial against Cardinal d'Ossat—Sentiments of Rosny not favourable to this cardinal or the policy of the Catholics—Treachery of Nicolas l'Hôte—How discovered—Particulars upon this subject—Villeroy's conduct examined—Rosny's sentiments upon the difference of religion—Promotion of cardinals, and affairs of Rome—Curious conversation of Henry with Rosny upon the domestic disorders occasioned by the queen and the Marchioness de Verneuil.

I BEGAN this year, as I had done all the preceding ones, by the performance of a ceremony annexed to my employment, which was to present their majesties with two purses of silver medals. When I went to pay them the accustomed compliments, on the first day of the new year, I came into their chamber so early in the morning that I found them still in bed. Besides the purses of silver, I had caused two purses of gold medals to be struck, which they received with great pleasure. Roquelaure, Frontenac, and La Varenne coming that moment into the room, the conversation turned entirely upon these medals, of which the emblem was an open granado, and the device alluded to an anecdote in ancient

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history, concerning Darius and Zopyrus.* The king was the more pleased with the design, because he found it affect the malcontents of France in such a manner, as he had a few days before directed me to make it affect them. His majesty the next day made me a present of his picture, in a box ornamented with diamonds; and the queen sent my wife a diamond chain and bracelet of great value.

The death of the Duchess of Bar, his majesty's only sister,† was the first event this year in which the court was interested; his majesty appeared greatly afflicted at it: he wore deep mourning, and not only ordered the whole court to do so likewise, but also the first gentlemen and officers of his bedchamber, the grand master, and officers of his wardrobe, the pages, and, in a word, all his household; the same regulation was observed in the queen's family.

The Duchess of Bar, before she left France, had contracted some debts in Paris, which were not yet paid. Without doubt, this princess had been prevented only by death from discharging them, since she had sent jewels from Lorraine to be pawned to her creditors, who had made a seizure of her houses, furniture, and other effects. Her houses were,

* As an explanation of these medals would be of little consequence, I forbear to give any; nor do I take any notice of them in the beginning of any of the other years. Those who interest themselves in subjects of this nature may see the series of these medals (vol. ii. p. 6 of the old Memoirs), where they are collected by the author.

† The suspicion some conceived of this princess having been poisoned was entirely groundless; her death was attributed by others to the potions she took to make her pregnant: it rather seems to have been occasioned from her physicians having treated her as being with child, though she was not. Andrew du Laurens, whom the king sent to her, was not mistaken in this respect as the rest were; but the princess herself was so firmly persuaded of her being with child, by the extreme desire she had to find it so, that she refused to take any of the medicines prescribed by that physician; imagining he wanted to save her life at the expense of the child's she believed herself to have conceived; whereas she was not at all solicitous about the preservation of her own life, provided that of the supposed infant could be saved. She persisted in this notion and these sentiments till the last moment of her life, always crying out, "Save my child." Her body having been opened, it clearly appeared Du Laurens had been extremely right in his judgment; that instead of a real pregnancy, her illness was occasioned by an inward tumour or swelling, which for want of an application of the proper remedies to disperse it, had brought on an inflam-

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a palace at Paris,* a house at Fontainebleau, and another at Saint Germain, which the king her brother had given her; and, among other furniture, there were pictures in her gallery, chamber, and closets, which were well worth keeping in the royal palaces, and which the king wished to have for that purpose; but they had made the duchess's debts so considerable, that he did not think it fit to desire them till they were all cleared. These debts amounted to twenty thousand livres.

mation. This princess was a rare example of conjugal affection; whenever she saw or heard any new-married women spoken of, she used to make it her wish that they might love their husbands as affectionately as she loved hers. She often repeated this verse of Propertius, changing the word *Venus* into *Deus:*

"Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major:
Hanc Venus, ut vivat, ventilat ipsa facem."

Her corpse was carried to Vendôme, and deposited by that of her mother, Queen Jane d'Albret. The pope had at length granted this dispensation, which had been so long solicited, but the duchess died before it arrived in Lorraine. Henry IV. took it much amiss, that the pope's nuncio, instead of the compliments of condolence, which he received from all the princes in Europe on the death of his sister, only spoke to him of his holiness's fears for the salvation of that princess, who had died out of the bosom of the Church; and answered him with some warmth and indignation, but very judiciously, that it was a notion inconsistent with the goodness of God, to suppose, that the moment when a person breathes his last was not sufficient for his mercy to open the gates of Heaven to any sinner whatever. "I have not," added he, "the least doubt of my sister's being saved." (De Thou, and La Chron. Sept. an. 1604.) What Amelot de la Houssaye advances in his Notes on Cardinal d'Ossat's letters, that this princess had no more affection for her husband than he had for her, is contrary to the opinion of all other historians: there is more foundation for the notion that the design of the journey the Duke of Bar took to Rome was less to solicit the dispensation for his marriage than to oppose it; but that the pope did not suffer himself to be so imposed on.

* The palace here spoken of is the palace of Soissons, formerly called the queen's palace, because it had belonged to Queen Catherine of Medicis, who left it by her will to her granddaughter, Christina of Lorraine; but by reason of Queen Catherine's debts, it was sold in 1601, and bought by the Duchess of Bar. It was sold again in 1604, for one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts, to the Count of Soissons, whose daughter, Mary of Bourbon, transferred it, as part of her portion, to Prince Thomas Francis of Savoy-Carignan, grandfather of Prince Eugène.

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I was afterwards commissioned by his majesty to take an inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to this princess; what rendered this employment very difficult to execute, besides the different kinds of debts and effects, was the specifying of those that the King of France and the Duke of Bar had a right to, and the claims they both made to the rings the princess had pawned in Paris. Madame de Pangeas gave us a very exact account of what rings and other jewels the princess was possessed of, either before or after her arrival in Lorraine, and of what her furniture in France consisted; and the inventory was regulated by this writing. The whole was registered with great exactness, in the presence of two or three members of the council, named by his majesty, and the Duke of Lorraine's commissioners; and this done, each of the two princes took possession of those effects that either belonged, or were to be returned to them. The duchess's palace at Paris was, by the king, destined to be sold, because part of the money for which it was first purchased was not yet paid: and the sum produced by this sale was sufficient to satisfy the first owner of it, and all the other creditors. The king gave the house of Fontainebleau to the queen, and that at Saint Germain to the Marchioness de Verneuil. But as this sale could not be made immediately, and the creditors demanding sureties, it was, by their consent, agreed between the two princes, that the jewels should be deposited in my hands, without any other security than my word; they remained there till the following year, when the queen having taken them, I was discharged by a writing, dated 28th June, 1605, and signed by Des Marquets and Bontemps. I shall now proceed to the re-establishment of the Jesuits, which I have promised to give some account of.

Notwithstanding the arrêt that seemed to deprive them of all hopes of ever settling again in France, they had found means to engage the court in their interests, and to make, even in his majesty's council, such a great number of protectors, whose voices, joined to the earnest and almost continual solicitations of the pope, the house of Lorraine, and many other persons, both within and without the kingdom, so greatly strengthened their party, that it was not possible for Henry to resist any longer; and indeed it must be confessed that he yielded without much reluctance. Some Jesuits who had gained

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access to his person on account of what had passed the preceding year, during his journey to Metz, behaved with so much address, and made such advantage of that permission, that Henry began to see them with pleasure,* and even to admit them familiarly to his presence. Those who were thus sent to try their fortune, and who, we may be assured, had been chosen with all the discernment of a society that understood mankind perfectly well, were the Fathers Ignatius, Mayus, Cotton, Armand, and Alexander; for Father Gonthier did not yet show himself: his turn of mind, which was rather ardent than complying, was not agreeable at this time.

When the Jesuits were thus secure of great part of the court, and flattered themselves that their enemies in the council would be either the weakest party, or such as would not contradict a proposal they knew to be agreeable to the king, they presented a petition in form to his majesty, who having in effect taken a resolution very favourable for them, ordered the constable one day to assemble a council at his house, composed of the Chancellor, Messieurs. de Chateauneuf, Pontcarré, Villeroy, Maisses, the President de Thou, Calignon, Jeannin, Sillery, de Vic, and Caumartin; there to hear from La Varenne, the most zealous solicitor the Jesuits had, the society's proposals, and what arguments they could offer to support them; to deliberate upon them, and to bring him an exact account of what passed.†

* The favourable reception the Jesuits met with at court and in Paris was principally owing to their qualifications as preachers; those who are named here were excellent in that respect. We shall soon have occasion to speak of Father Cotton. Father Laurent Mayus, or Mayo, was born in Provence; he was a man of great wit and conduct, and one of those who the most effectually assisted the pope's nuncio in procuring the re-establishment of the Jesuits. This Jesuit putting Henry IV. in mind of his promise to recal that order at a proper time, said to him, "Sire, your time is now come; it is nine months since you made this promise, and women are delivered at the end of nine months." "True, Father Mayo," answered that prince, "but do not you know kings go longer than women do?" (La Chron. Sept. an. 1603.)

† The parliament of Paris having been informed of the king's resolution touching the recal of the Jesuits, sent the first president De Harlay as their deputy to his majesty, to present their remonstrance against it. The president spoke to the king with great vehemence. The substance of his speech may be seen in De Thou, who, after having related, as an eye-witness, what passed on this occasion between the

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His majesty would have been very well satisfied to have had me of this council, and his reason for not naming me to the constable among the others, was (as he told Oserai, the first groom of his bedchamber, who afterwards repeated it to me) because he believed this commission would not be agreeable to me. But Sillery here exerted all the arts of a courtier; he affected to his majesty so much surprise that this council should be held without me, accompanied with all those treacherous praises which envy and malice make use of on certain occasions, that he laid the prince under a necessity of telling him I should be there likewise. The views of this artful courtier were, to make me only answerable for all the inconveniences which they foresaw might equally attend a denial, or grant of the Jesuits' request, for every one knew it was a nice affair. I guessed Sillery's motive for acting in this manner, and it was not long before my suspicions were fully confirmed.

The council being assembled, and myself present as one of the members, the question was put to the vote: when Bellièvre, Villeroy, and Sillery, directing their eyes to me, Sillery spoke for the others, and said that these gentlemen,

king and his parliament, complains of a writing which came abroad at that time, under the title of "The King's Answer to the Remonstrance of the Parliament," and which is a continued series of reproaches from that prince to the first president, and of praises of the Jesuits: whereas, the only answer the king made to the deputies of the parliament was, that he thanked them for the solicitude they discovered for the preservation of his life, and that he would take all necessary measures not to run himself into any dangers. The length and spirit of this writing testify in favour of M. de Thou; but, on the other side, this answer of Henry IV., whether true or fictitious, is set forth in the fourth volume of Villeroy's State Memoirs, p. 400, and confirmed by Matthieu, that prince's historiographer, whom Henry IV. himself furnished with memoirs of his history. (Vol. ii. book iii.) On this authority, which is of great weight, Father Daniel has cited it in his History of France, in folio, vol. iii. p. 1939. These things would induce one to believe this was the real answer of Henry IV., at least in substance; and M. de Thou agrees, that after the king's answer, which contained an order to register his edict, the parliament having made a further attempt to avoid registering it, his majesty sent for them a second time, and declared his will to them with authority, and even with anger; and afterwards sent Andrew Hurault de Maisses, one of his secretaries of state, to the parliament, to cause his edict to be registered without any modification.

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as well as himself, yielded to me the honour of deciding upon this question, as to one who was better acquainted with the affairs of state and the king's inclinations than any that were present. I was already not too well disposed towards Sillery, and this stroke put me quite out of humour with him. Instead of a compliment, with which any other courtier would have paid his flattery, I answered to his meaning, and that without any disguise. I told him that I saw no reason for altering a custom so generally received as that of voting according to rank, especially on a subject where my sentiments, whatever they were, would, on account of my religion, be suspected of partiality; unless it were with a design to give the world a disadvantageous interpretation of my words, as I knew many who were present expected to have an opportunity of doing; and had even done it beforehand, by groundless charges upon a point on which I had not yet declared my thoughts; and I added in plainer terms, that although I should vote first, yet I would not give the person that spoke to me so great an advantage as he seemed to hope for; but that I would do nothing till I had first consulted my oracle. And in reality I was resolved to have a conference with his majesty, before any resolution was taken in the matter in debate. "I find then," said Sillery, smiling maliciously, and affecting ignorance of the meaning of my last words, "that we must wait for your opinion till you have taken a journey to the banks of the Seine, four leagues from hence." Ablon it was that he meant, the place where the Protestants held their assemblies. "Sir," replied I, "your enigma is not very obscure; however, I assure you, that as in religious matters, not men, but the words of God, are my oracles, so in affairs of state I am guided only by the voice and the will of the king; which I intend to be particularly informed of, before anything be determined upon a business of this importance." Then addressing myself to the whole company, I told them, in a tone of voice somewhat raised, that great inconveniences must infallibly be the consequence of a precipitate resolution in this case.

After this discourse, which might be taken for that act of deliberation I had just before declined, the constable, taking advantage of the hint I had furnished him with, and pleased likewise with having an opportunity to do me some service

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(for, ever since that he had received from me in the affair of Marshal Biron, his former prejudice against me was changed into a sincere affection), said that he was entirely of my opinion as to the necessity there was of knowing the particular inclinations of his majesty before anything was resolved on; and added, that it would not even be improper to desire him to be present at their debates, if it were only to put a stop to those little heats and animosities that had already begun to appear in our first sitting. Villeroy, showing an impatience to proceed which surprised every one who knew his disposition, said, that since this affair could no otherwise be terminated than by the re-establishment of the Jesuits, it was needless to protract it any longer; and, after giving all the weight he could to his holiness's interposition, and answering for the faithful performance of the promises made by the society, he explained the motives of the king's conduct in this affair, who had not, he said, referred it to a council, the members of which were all appointed by himself, to be contradicted, but to avoid taking upon himself the annulling, by his authority, so solemn an arrêt of parliament as that against the Jesuits; and concluded by complaisantly saying, that it was fit his majesty should be spared the disagreeable necessity of deciding solely this question. Villeroy certainly highly honoured us all by this speech; and the council, no doubt, owed him great acknowledgments. De Thou ridiculed this opinion, as Villeroy had done ours; he shook his head, and said, that if his majesty's design had been such as Villeroy represented it to be, not to meddle in this affair, he would have referred it to the decision of the parliament, as likewise the examination of the Jesuits' proposals; and hence taking occasion to give his own sentiments of the matter, he added, that if the king would avoid the blame he would incur by acting otherwise, and the danger that would result from it, both to the State and his own person, this was the only part he could take, namely, to refer it to the parliament. Certainly this was not speaking like a courtier: but neither his advice nor that of Villeroy was followed. The rest of the councillors declared, by a single word, that they thought it necessary his majesty should be applied to, before they proceeded any further; and thus ended our first sitting.

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On the following day I went to the king, and informed him of everything that had been said during our meeting; I also recalled to his recollection what the King of England communicated to him through me respecting the Jesuits, and requested him either to dispense with my taking a part in so difficult an affair, or to inform me of the manner in which he wished I should act; after which, I said, I would blindly follow his will, the only thing that could ever induce me to vote for the repeal of an arrêt of parliament, which, while it testified the love of his subjects towards him, to the shame of those who had attempted his life, was a terror to all those who might entertain similar designs; neither could I otherwise agree to the re-establishment of a sect from whom many evils and dangers were to be dreaded, and little advantage or benefit to be hoped for. "Well, well!" said the king, "since we have leisure to discuss this subject, and as we are here in private, tell me candidly everything you apprehend, and I will then tell you what I hope for, so that we may see whose reasons have the most weight." "Sire," I replied, "if you undertake to defend the cause of the Jesuits, it must be very bad indeed if I do not think it a good one; for since you have already concluded in your own mind what is to be done with regard to them, it would be impertinent in me to argue to the contrary, or to allege reasons which can be of no avail, since they will not be admitted by you." "No, no," answered his majesty, "I never suffer myself to be carried away by bad notions, or my mind to be so wedded to any opinions, as to refuse to listen to better ones when they are suggested to me; therefore, do not hesitate to tell me your sentiments, to which I will pay all reasonable attention." "Sire," said I, "since your majesty is willing to represent the advantages which are to be hoped for from the re-establishment of this society in France, I will dispense with it entirely; for I must confess I am very averse to it, and will content myself with mentioning, among many inconveniences to be apprehended, seven of the principal ones. In the first place, it seems to me incredible that minds, so accustomed by long habit, that it is become natural in them, by conscientious motives, and reasons of policy as well as of state, to desire and promote by every possible means the prosperity of the Spanish faction, and the house of Austria,

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and to see their dominion extended over all the other potentates of Christendom,—should desist entirely, and all on a sudden, from a design which it would appear can only be practicable by the destruction of your person and the ruin of the French monarchy,—the only two obstacles to it. My second cause of apprehension, Sire," I continued, "is, that this society (whose members, I confess, are not only men of genius, but full of cunning and artifice), once re-established in full liberty, without any restrictions (as I see they are likely to be), they will excite hatred and animosity amongst your subjects and servants of different religions, by means of their private conversations, deceitful propositions, their sermons, confessions, and penances. Thirdly, that they will so gain your ear, nay, even your heart, as to obtain the power of removing from or introducing about your person or into the administration of your affairs, all those whom they may think proper, in which case I shall doubtless be the object against whom their principal efforts will be directed. Fourthly, that blind obedience, which the Jesuits have sworn to observe to the pope and to their general, depriving them of all power of following their own will or natural inclinations, no reasonable dependance can be placed on their oaths, promises, or professions, since they have sworn to change their sentiments on the slightest mandate of their general, who, if not a Spaniard, is always in the interests of Spain, or of the pope, who dare not displease that power while he continues as he is at present, cooped up by Sicily, Naples, Milan, Florence (the duke of which trembles at the very name of Spain), the States of Genoa, and others, all which your majesty commanded me to represent to the King of England; nor can the pope, with all his holiness, disengage himself but by your invasion of Naples and Milan, which I hold to be very easy, if you act as you ought and may; but this is a design which the Jesuits will never consent to, since you cannot carry it into effect without the aid of the Protestants, and others of the Reformed religion. My fifth cause of apprehension is, that they will plunge your majesty into a civil war with your Protestant subjects, as being the most infallible, nay, the sole means of weakening yourself and the kingdom, by depriving you of your best and most valiant officers and soldiers, exhausting your finances, and

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ruining your people, so that you may never have it in your power to undertake anything against Spain, or recover from her what she has usurped. The sixth, and the most important cause, and which affects me most of all, nay, penetrates my very heart when I think of it, is, that by means of their cunning and flattery, this people will attain to so great familiarity with your majesty, and your principal ministers and servants, as to have it in their power to introduce about your person those who may take away your life by poison or some other means. Lastly, certain memoirs which have been sent to me from Italy, in which it is attempted to persuade me that I ought to inform your majesty that a plan has been for some time formed by some of your principal servants, who were formerly of the party of the League in France, to induce you to break off all connexion with your old and well-tried allies and confederates, who are enemies of the Catholic religion and the holy see; but that, not daring to make the proposal to you themselves, they have disposed the pope, by means of a person who is entirely devoted to them, to write to you respecting it; and these memoirs are so circumstantial, that should your majesty ever peruse them, you have too much prudence and judgment not to believe some part of them." I concluded with telling the king that the substance of this memorial was too long to be detailed then; but, if he would give me leave, I would deliver it to him in writing. This he approved of, or rather ordered me to do so. With regard to the other points, he said, it was easy to perceive that I was better prepared than he was, or rather that my arguments were unanswerable; but that without having recourse to so many subtilties, he thought he had two reasons in his mind which would make me change my opinion: the first was, that having had a conversation with Father Mayus, he had candidly confessed to him that the Jesuits had always favoured and promoted the interests and power of Spain, because she had not only admitted them into her States, but had also supported and honoured them; while, on the contrary, they had in other kingdoms, and particularly in France, for upwards of twenty years been persecuted and despised; but that if by a contrary conduct he should show good-will and affection towards them, he would so far gain over the greater part of the

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society, that they would give him unequivocal proofs of their entire devotion to him and the crown of France, even to the prejudice of Spain, they being in reality more inclined to the former than the latter; that Father Mayus had further said he could sincerely pledge his word for all those with whom he had conferred, which was a considerable number, and that they would submit, in case of failing in their protestations, to be deprived of all favour, banished the kingdom, nay, even prosecuted as traitors. "Now I doubt not," continued the king, "that you have many arguments to adduce against this my first reason; but I do not think you will seek for one against my second, which is, that I must of necessity, at present, do one of two things, namely, either admit this body unconditionally, free them from the infamy and opprobrium with which they have been loaded, and put their fair professions and solemn protestations to the trial; or treat them more rigorously than ever, in order that they may neither approach my person nor kingdom, which would doubtless render them desperate, and make them engage in plots against my life, which would make me miserable, as I should then live in continual terror of being poisoned or assassinated; for these people carry on correspondence everywhere, and have a wonderful skill in persuading others to do whatever they desire; so that this would be worse than death itself, for I am of Cæsar's opinion, that the easiest is that which is least foreseen or expected."* "Your majesty," I replied, "is right in supposing that I should have nothing to advance against your last reason; for, rather than see you live in such apprehension and disquietude, I will agree not only to the re-establishment of the Jesuits, but of any other sect whatever; therefore, without any further discussion, since I find such opinions occupy your majesty's mind, I am resolved to solicit their re-establishment, even more earnestly than La Varenne could do, of which, I hope, when the next council shall be held on this subject, to give you undeniable proofs." "I cannot refrain from expressing to you," said

* "Insidias undique imminentes subire semel confestim satius esse, quam cavere semper," says Suetonius; which does not absolutely signify that the most unexpected death is the best, as the text expresses it, and which is more consistent with the context.

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the king, "the great satisfaction it affords me to find you in this disposition; and in order to confirm you in it, I will this moment remove two of the causes of your apprehensions, in which you are particularly interested, by giving you my faith and word (which, you know, I would sooner die than violate, as I consider them the most essential part of royalty, and without which no king is worthy of the name), that neither Jesuits nor any others, not even the pope himself, shall ever be able to make me declare war against the Protestants, unless you likewise advise me to do it; or, on account of their religion, to dismiss or withdraw my favour from any of them, by whom I find I am faithfully and loyally served, and particularly by you, of whom I can say, with the utmost sincerity, what you the other day told me Darius said of his Zopyrus."* He likewise assured me that he would endeavour to make the Jesuits entertain the same sentiments of me that he did; and that I should know, before much time was past, in what manner he expected they should behave towards me.

I am not sure whether he did not exert himself on this occasion that very day; for I had a visit from La Varenne the next morning, who desired as a favour, that a Jesuit, who, he assured me, was still more a Frenchman by inclination than birth, might be allowed to pay his respects to me. I answered La Varenne, that he well knew every one was sure of a polite reception at my house, and ecclesiastics especially, who never perceived any more of my religion, than the obligation I thought it laid upon me, to treat them with a distinguishing respect; and that, if this were not the case, the character he gave me of this Jesuit was sufficient to ensure his welcome. This French Jesuit was Father Cotton,† whom he brought with him the next day, as I went into the hall to give audiences as usual after dinner. The Jesuit approached me with all imaginable demonstration of venera-

* Zopyrus, a Persian satrap, having cut off his nose, ears, and lips, in order to execute a stratagem, which put Darius in possession of the city of Babylon, that prince used to say he would have given twenty Babylons for one Zopyrus. (Herodotus, book v.)

† Peter Cotton, born in 1564, at Neronde, of one of the most distinguished families of Forez.

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tion and respect, and was lavish in his praises of my great capacity, my services, and likewise upon the protection which, he said, he had been assured I was disposed to grant his society, intermingled with the most profound bows, and repeated assurances of gratitude, devotion, and obedience. I was not deficient in a return of compliments and ceremony, being solicitous to omit nothing the person and present occasion required.

The next day the council, still composed of the same members as before, assembled for the second time: and no affair was ever more quickly despatched. Without entering into any discussion, or making a needless display of arguments in favour of a question already decided, I said in brief, that the present conjuncture of the times required that the Jesuits should have a settlement in France. It was resolved, that they should take an oath to hold all the principles of true Frenchmen, and elect no one for a provincial who was not French by birth: this they swore to perform, and all the past was buried in oblivion. All I have to add is, that during the whole time I was extremely reserved, and acted with great circumspection, as well with regard to Father Molina's opinion of grace, that was published this year, as upon some propositions of three Jesuits, which occasioned high debates between those who favoured and those who opposed them, especially these two—that the pope's being the successor of St. Peter was not a point of faith, and that confession might be made by letters. On this occasion, the Jesuits were soon sensible how necessary the royal interposition in their favour was to them. Had they been given up to the parliament, the Sorbonne, the Universities, and the most part of the bishops, and the cities in the kingdom, their doctrine had not taken deep root: but the king did not abandon his new favourites; and even at the solicitations of La Varenne, gave them his castle of La Flèche, where they soon founded a very fine college.

The restoration of the Jesuits afforded matter for a real triumph to Villeroy, Jeannin, Du Perron, and above all, to D'Ossat, who had not neglected their interests at Rome, where he still resided, to manage his majesty's affairs at that court. And here it seems proper to introduce that memorial which was addressed to me from Italy against this ecclesi-

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astic, and which, as has been observed, I had already mentioned to the king.

His majesty had gone to Chantilly, to spend a few days there in the month of April, on account of the pure air, the agreeableness of the place, the convenience for hunting, and other rural amusements, which his physicians seemed to think necessary for his health. Upon some letters I wrote to him, in which I could not dispense with myself from observing that by his absence a great number of affairs were left undetermined, he returned immediately to Paris, notwithstanding all the entreaties of his physicians to prevent him. The same evening that he arrived he remembered the memorial in question, and asked me for it, by which he only anticipated me, it being my intention to show it to him that day. I had brought it with me, between my coat and waistcoat, and I left it with him, that he might examine it at his leisure. I had made no alterations in it; nor added anything, except, perhaps, a few reflections,—which this paper had no great need of, to draw upon the person against whom it was written his majesty's utmost displeasure.

The author of this memorial, who had his reasons for neither mentioning in it his own name, nor that of the person to whom it was addressed, endeavoured to prove that D'Ossat had prevaricated in every point of his commission, and had accepted it with no other design than to bring matters to that pass that the king should be obliged to enter into the views of the Catholic leaguers of his council, of whom the cardinal was the instrument, and to adopt a political plan very different from that they found he had hitherto pursued. This new plan, which still breathed the spirit of the League that gave it birth, consisted in uniting France in interest and friendship with the pope, Spain, the archdukes, and Savoy, against all the Protestant powers of Europe in general, and the Protestants of this kingdom in particular: to make Henry concur with the pope in placing a Catholic prince on the throne of Great Britain; no longer to protect the United Provinces; to use his authority to procure a general submission to the council of Trent; in a word, to make him adopt all the Austrian schemes, and all the maxims followed on the other side of the Alps. The Jesuits were to undertake the task of cementing this union, which was to be founded upon

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marriage between the children of France and Spain, and
the deposition of King James was to be
The author of this memorial, to prove that he
bring three heavy accusations against
Henriette, as well those I have formerly mentioned
which he had collected, and by his
whether in public or private, to
consuls, unsmountable obstacles
being absolutely the supposed
amused with the
him, to prevent
from, and to impunity
unhappy was spread
unlikely it were
It were
asked with
gave the
most pacific
security
clerical every part of this
so much reason to blush
and that in this
the several advantages
the purple, been
ing arts he practised
the hatred of others
At the conclusion
entreats the
fall, to show

Setting aside all that this paper contains of the extravagant or outrageous, which shows it came from a declared enemy, it must still be confessed that D'Ossat could not escape the reproach of having slandered his sovereign, and been ungrateful to his benefactor; and that he even left to posterity the means of convicting him of those two crimes, in the letters which, through vanity, he caused to be printed, wherein he calumniated Henry IV. as a prince who oppressed the clergy, destroyed the nobility, ruined the third estate of the kingdom, and acted like the tyrant of his people.

Nor is truth less violated in those furious exclamations he makes against the Protestants. What can one think of the epithets of impious, horrid, detestable, sacrilegious, with which he brands a body that professes to agree with himself in the belief of all the fundamental articles of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and to have the same veneration for the divine writings in which they are contained—the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer.

As to his political errors, though in D'Ossat they may well be imputed to views too narrow and confined, yet they are not the less palpable. At a time when the ambitious projects of the house of Austria were in a manner posted up throughout all Europe, he exposed France to the danger of being the first victim of them, by breaking off for ever with all her allies that were to support her against this proud and insolent monarchy. And what is still more surprising, this destructive policy communicated itself, as if by contagion, to the greatest part of those who were employed in the administration of public affairs: and what is yet more to be lamented, it gained ground upon the wisest though not the smallest party.*

* This system of politics has not been productive of the mischiefs M. de Sully apprehended it would occasion; on the contrary, the event of it has been as favourable as it possibly could have been. It is nevertheless true, and will in some degree be a justification of our author's manner of reasoning on this occasion, that if the execution of these designs, of which the destruction of the Protestant religion in France was the principal, had fallen into the hands of any other than Cardinal de Richelieu, the success of it would not only have been doubtful, but if an attempt of so great consequence as this had by any means miscarried, France would, in all probability, have been replunged into the frightful situation she was in during the reign of the children

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It was this policy that in the month of April, this year, exposed Villeroy to one of the greatest mortifications that could happen to a man in a public employment. The king, when he set out to Fontainebleau, where it was his custom to keep his Easter, during which there was a cessation of all business in the council, took leave of his councillors till the Sunday after Easter; but on Good Friday he recalled me by a letter, in which he informed me that he had discovered some treasonable practices in his court, and that he wanted to confer with me; for which purpose he would order post-horses to be ready for me at Ablon on Easter Sunday, that I might set out for Fontainebleau when the communion was over. I did so, and this was the affair in question:

Villeroy had a clerk in his office named Nicolas L'Hôte,* whose family, from father to son, had been attached to that of Villeroy; but the person of whom we are now speaking, before he entered into his service, had been secretary to the Count de la Rochepot, when he was sent ambassador from France to Spain. L'Hôte had wit, but of that sort that strongly inclines the owner to artifice and intrigue. During his stay in Spain he contracted an intimacy with the Spanish secretaries of state, Don Juan Idiaques, Francheses, and Prada, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the ambassador his master. When La Rochepot returned to France, L'Hôte, finding himself without any employment, solicited Villeroy, whose godson he was, for a place in his office, and was by him entrusted to decipher his despatches, which was

of Henry II. Cardinal de Richelieu did not, however, in every respect follow the plan attributed to D'Ossat, Villeroy, &c., since during his whole life he was engaged in war with Spain. The perfect knowledge he had of the particular resources on which France could depend, and which, if we may judge from appearances, he had acquired principally from Sully's Memoirs, made him take in, and to some degree reconcile, both these opposite systems, by entering into the design of weakening the house of Austria in pursuance of the one; and of destroying Calvinism in France according to the other of them. I do not know of any one instance that so evidently proves as this does, what a single man is capable of. The Protestants of France, who had obtained a toleration of themselves, after having remained undisturbed full thirty years, were almost at once brought into an entire subjection: this happened, because on the one side there was a Cardinal de Richelieu, and on the other there was no longer a Henry of Navarre.

* Or, as others say, Du Portail.

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very agreeable to L'Hôte, as it afforded him an opportunity of carrying on his first trade with security.

Barrault,* who succeeded the Count de la Rochepot in Spain, perceived, a short time after, that the secrets of his prince were known to that court; and in vain tortured his imagination to discover from whence this misfortune proceeded. Not being able to fix upon any particular person, he entreated his majesty, in a short letter addressed to himself, to look upon all the clerks in his secretaries' offices, especially those belonging to Villeroy, as suspected persons. This treachery extended its influence to all our other ambassadors at the several courts of Europe, who were extremely astonished, and complained to the king, as Barrault had done, that the contents of their despatches were known at these courts as soon as they received them from France, and very often before.

But neither Barrault nor they could penetrate any further into the affair, till the former was one day accosted by a Frenchman of Bordeaux, a refugee in Spain, whose name was John de Leyré, but better known by that of Rafis, which he had borne when he was in the service of the League, having been one† of the most active of the incendiaries, and on that account not being able to get himself comprehended in the pardon, was obliged to fly into Spain, where his services, which consisted in revealing some advices he still received from his associates in France, were rewarded by a good pension which was allowed him by that court, and which was continued to him till the council of Spain having procured by other means more certain intelligence than any they could get from Rafis, he soon perceived, by the contempt he was treated with at Madrid, and the discontinuance of his pension, that his credit was sunk all of a sudden; and changing his battery that instant, he applied himself with

* Emeric Gobier de Barrault. It is related of this ambassador that, being one day at a comedy in Spain, in which the battle of Pavia was represented, and seeing a Spanish actor throw down the person who performed the character of Francis I., set his foot on his throat, and in the most outrageous terms oblige him to ask quarter, he leaped upon the stage, and, in sight of the whole house, ran the actor through the body with his sword. (Amelot's Notes on D'Ossat.)

† L'Etoile says he had been one of the Council of Sixteen.

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the utmost diligence to find out who was the traitor in France that had enriched himself with his spoils, not doubting but that if he should succeed, this discovery would purchase his recal to his own country, which he had always in his view, and probably procure him greater advantages than those he lost in Spain.

Men educated in the arts of faction and the mystery of intrigue, have talents for this sort of discoveries peculiar to themselves. Rafis got acquainted with another Frenchman, named John Blas, who had settled in Spain, and it was from him that he learned in what manner L'Hôte had abused the confidence of his first master. Rafis, struck with this hint, fixed, as by instinct, on this man; having procured from other persons information that he was actually one of Villeroy's secretaries, at that distance his sagacity alone discovered to him what so many others upon the very spot were ignorant of.

His suspicions being changed into a certainty, he went to Barrault, and offered to point out the traitor of whom he complained (but that care must be taken to prevent his having any suspicion that he was discovered), on condition, that if his information were found to be true, the king would give him a free pardon in form, and a decent pension. Barrault thought the affair of such importance, that he made no scruple to promise both. Rafis likewise exacted a promise from Barrault, and this with a view to his own safety, that he should proceed slowly and cautiously in the affair; and that when he wrote to France upon the proposals that had been made to him, he should address himself to none but the king. But Barrault understood this last request as an excess of unnecessary caution, which did not exclude him from acquainting his majesty's chief ministers with the affair; and it was Villeroy himself that he informed of Rafis's offer and proposals. Villeroy, who did not imagine that the traitor was in his own office, sent the despatches immediately to the king; but L'Hôte being with his master when this packet from Barrault was opened, drove directly at his purpose; and reflecting upon the importance of the advice, acted in the very manner that Rafis had with so much reason been apprehensive he would do; for he wrote instantly to his correspondents in Spain, desiring them to take all the necessary mea-

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sures, and that without delay, to prevent Rafis from discovering more. This was the best method he could think of to secure himself, and to prevent any bad consequences; and it would probably have succeeded, had the person concerned been any other than Rafis.

This man, when he received his pardon, which his majesty sent him, together with his answer to his proposals, observed that it was not signed by Lomenie, to whom the king would naturally have referred it, if it had not been offered him by another train of conveyance; and concluding from thence that it had passed Villeroy's office, he went directly to the ambassador, and complained that he had deceived him; and now thinking it no longer necessary to conceal anything, he told him his reasons for pressing him to write only to the king, and to Villeroy less than any other person. He gave him, in a few words, all the information he had promised him concerning L'Hôte's intrigues; that done, he told Barrault, that, to avoid, if it were still possible, the danger with which he was threatened at Madrid, he had nothing left for it but to endeavour to gain the French territories with the utmost expedition; and accordingly he mounted his horse that moment: and it was happy for him that he did so, for the next morning his house was invested by archers, who were sent after him with orders to make all possible haste, that they might come up with him before he reached the frontier: but Rafis, by good fortune, or rather by his own extreme diligence, escaped with Descartes, Barrault's secretary, whom this ambassador permitted to accompany him, to present him in France. They never rested till they found themselves at Bayonne, from whence, continuing their route without delay, they came to Paris, and hearing the king was at Fontainebleau, set out directly for that place.

On the road they met Villeroy, who was going from Fontainebleau to his house at Juvisy; and believing they ought not to conceal anything from him, entreated him to have his clerk arrested by way of security; and that they might have the sole honour of the affair, offered to return themselves to Paris to arrest him. Villeroy neither approved of their proposal, nor the offer they made him of their persons; which, it must be confessed, was an instance of great imprudence; but he, doubtless, imagined that it was not possible for L'Hôte to

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escape. He told the two couriers that his clerk was to come to him the next day, and that it would be then time enough for them to secure him; it being likewise his opinion that his majesty ought first to be spoken to about it; and that they risked nothing by this delay, provided they kept a profound silence. Surprised and dissatisfied as they were at this proceeding, it was their business to obey; and they delivered the packets they were charged with, to him, to be given to his majesty, which he did the next day.

The king had not yet received these packets on Easter Day when I came to Fontainebleau, nor, consequently, knew anything of the arrival of the two couriers, or the name of him who betrayed him; the only certain intelligence he had was, the warning that had been given him to hold all the clerks of Villeroy suspected. As I did not reach Fontainebleau till it was very late, and was greatly fatigued with my journey, I did not wait on his majesty till the next morning. I found him up and dressed, though it was scarcely sunrise. Barrault's informations had given him great uneasiness. He took my hand, and leading me into the gallery that joined his apartment, conferred with me there a long time upon the news he had just received from his ambassador. The despatches from London that had been lost coming into his mind, and all that I had said when I imputed this misfortune to Villeroy's people, which at that time he took for an effect of jealousy and hatred, now appeared to him so well founded, that he acknowledged to me he began to give credit to it, and to conceive very unfavourable thoughts of Villeroy. As he did not expect that Descartes and Rafis would arrive so soon, he ordered me to sift this matter to the bottom, and use my utmost endeavours to find out the truth.

His majesty and I had been three days employed in endeavouring to make discoveries, when Villeroy arrived with the packets before mentioned. I was walking with the king in the long gallery of the Garden of Pines,* and preparing to take leave, to return to Paris, at the very moment that Villeroy came up to us. His countenance expressed all that grief which the consciousness of having such news to inform his majesty of must necessarily inspire; and I may venture to

* The gallery of Ulysses.

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say, that for a man who had some cause to wish to humble a rival, or at least to rejoice in his humiliation, I sympathised truly with him in his affliction. While he read the papers, his majesty often looked at me, and pressed my hand several times. He did not give him time to read them out, but interrupting him at the name of L'Hôte, "And where is this L'Hôte, your clerk?" said his majesty, with some emotion, "have you not caused him to be seized?" "I believe, Sire," replied Villeroy, in great consternation, "that he is at my house, but he is not yet arrested." "How!" returned Henry, in a rage, "you believe he is in your house, and yet you have not ordered him to be seized! *Pardieu!* this is great negligence indeed; how could you trifle thus when you knew his treachery? This business must be attended to immediately; go back with all possible haste, and seize him yourself."

Villeroy departed in the utmost grief and confusion, and I did not delay a moment my return to Paris, where I received the next day a letter from his majesty, who charged Descartes to tell me from him all that had passed. Since I find myself engaged to relate this affair, that I may avoid the reproach of having supported such accounts of it as have been given by the enemies of Villeroy, in what remains to be said, I shall follow the detail he himself gives of it, in the apology for his conduct, which he thought it necessary to make public.* After having recounted, in a manner advantageous for himself, all that had passed from the moment wherein he spoke to the two couriers, to the time that he went to the king at Fontainebleau, he proceeds in the following manner:

That at his return to his house, he found the Bishop of Chartres and some other persons of distinction, who waited for him, and detained him a long time in his closet, the subject of their conference being the settlement of some points relating to the ceremonies of the Order of the Garter.†

* See the original of this apology in Villeroy's Memoirs of State, page 522; it bears date the 3rd of May. There can be no doubt of its containing a faithful relation of the sentiments and actions of this minister, it being strictly conformable to what is said of it by De Thou, the Chron. Sept., Matthieu, and all the other historians of credit.

† As the King of France was a knight of the Garter, the ceremonies above alluded to, it is probable, was the observance, as in England, of

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When Descartes came to his apartment, to acquaint him that L'Hôte, with Desnots, were just arrived from Paris, his respect for his company hindered him from interrupting them. L'Hôte, on his first entering the house, was saluted with the news of the arrival of the two couriers from Spain, yet preserved presence of mind enough to appear but little concerned at it; and pretending that he was hungry, and would go and eat a morsel in the kitchen, only passed through it, telling the steward that he would go to a public-house and refresh himself, and get his boots taken off, that he might be in a condition to appear before his master. Villeroy, after his company went away, asked where L'Hôte was; and being informed that he was in the offices, as every body supposed he was, he thought he could not do better than send a servant to tell the steward that he should amuse L'Hôte with some discourse, and not lose sight of him. He himself, in the mean time, went to Lomenie, to desire that he would send him Du Broc, lieutenant du prevôt, who he intended should arrest him. He brought back Lomenie with him, and they placed themselves at a window that looked into the court where the whole transaction was to take place. But these precautions were too late, L'Hôte had already escaped.

Those who judge favourably enough of Villeroy to take the whole recital upon his word, will at least probably exclaim here against the dilatory manner in which this secretary of state executed those orders he had just received from the king's own mouth, and in a tone as absolute as it was pressing: he would be still more culpable, if a thousand circumstances of L'Hôte's escape, made public by Descartes and Rafis, which were not mentioned in his apology, were true: however, it would be certainly great injustice to believe everything that on this occasion was said against Villeroy;* his enemies had too good an opportunity afforded

the great annual feast of the knights of that order on St. George's Day, about which time, it appears from the old Memoirs, the affair of L'Hôte took place.—ED.

* De Thou remarks that M. de Villeroy did not absolutely escape suspicion: but at the same time he says that Henry IV., far from suffering himself to be influenced by it, endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortune. (Book cxxxii.) P. Matthieu likewise asserts that Henry IV. was too well acquainted with his fidelity to conceive the least suspicion against him. (Vol. ii. book iii. p. 637.)

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them to rail, not to take advantage of it; the Protestants especially, painted him in the blackest colours, not able to deny themselves the pleasure of being revenged on him, who had contributed more than any other to the king's change of religion. But, on the other side, we must not hold him clear of all blame, as those who are devoted to him do, who insist that his whole conduct in this affair was justifiable. All my friends did not scruple to say publicly, that, if such an accident had happened in my family, I should have been much more severely reflected upon. The foreign ambassadors residing in France, and even the pope's nuncio, came to my house at Paris, and declared to me, that if, after such a discovery, their despatches must still pass through Villeroy's hands, their masters would not venture to mention anything of consequence in them.

As to the traitor, all that could be done was to send some archers after him, who pursued him so closely, that when he, and a Spaniard who accompanied him, came to the side of the river Marne, at a small distance from the ferry-boat of Fay, which he could not hope to reach before they came up with him, he saw no other way to avoid their pursuit than to throw himself into the river, thinking, perhaps, to swim over it; but he was drowned in the attempt. The Spaniard chose rather to be taken; and he was brought back to Paris, with the body of L'Hôte, which was drawn out of the water. Villeroy seemed truly afflicted that they had not been able to seize his clerk alive; indeed, he had reason to regret it; it was the only means he had left to stop the mouth of slander. He was the first to propose to me, in a letter he wrote me about this affair, to have the body* treated with the

* The surgeons who examined his corpse were unanimously of opinion, if we may give credit to L'Etoile, that he had not been drowned; and, as there was no more appearance of his having been stabbed or strangled, they concluded he had been smothered, and afterwards thrown into the river. The Septennaire takes no notice of this examination by the surgeons, but gives an ample detail of the particulars of L'Hôte's flight, and the manner in which he was found, which totally destroys the validity of the account given by L'Etoile, who, upon other occasions, has given sufficient proofs of his dislike to M. de Villeroy, and yet could not avoid acknowledging that Henry IV. did not treat M. de Villeroy with the more coldness on this account. "Taking the trouble," says he, "of going even to his house, to comfort him in his sorrow, not discovering the least signs of diffidence of him by reason of what had

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utmost ignominy, and to punish the Spaniard in an exemplary manner. All this could not appease the king: he knew not, for a long time after this adventure, in what light to behold Villeroy: and was three days in doubt whether it was not fit to banish him from his presence. But Villeroy threw himself at his majesty's feet, with so many marks of profound sorrow, shed tears in such abundance, and made such solemn protestations of his innocence, that Henry could not help believing him (though the world would never be persuaded but that he only feigned to believe him), and with that goodness, so natural to him, granted the pardon he so vehemently implored.

Matters were in this state when I returned to Fontainebleau, to inform his majesty, which I was indispensably obliged to do, of the representations made me by the foreign ambassadors. It was resolved that the cipher made use of by our ambassadors should be changed; and the king now thought only of taking advantage of this incident, to make Villeroy more exact (I repeat the king's own words), more cautious in the choice of his clerks, and less haughty than he had formerly been. His majesty concerted with me a letter, which he thought likely to produce this effect, because I was to make it public: this letter was brought to me at Paris, by Perroton, from the king, as if to acquaint me with the indulgences he had thought fit to show Villeroy. The contents were, that his majesty could not refuse a pardon to the tears and entreaties of this secretary; that I ought no longer to distrust him, since he did not; and that, in his present condition, charity required that I should write to him a letter, to give him comfort, and an assurance of my friendship; and this he entreated me to do.

I seconded the good intentions of his majesty without any reluctance, and, I may even say, with more sincerity than he required of me, except that I could not prevail upon myself to write to Villeroy that I considered him entirely blameless. This I thought would appear a ridiculous piece of flattery:

passed, but seeming rather to put more trust in him than before. It was therefore said at court that it was happy for him he had so good a master, since, in affairs of state of so much consequence, kings and princes usually expect masters should be answerable for the acts of their servants. (Anno 1603, p. 24.)

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I said enough to afford him the means of persuading the public, by my letter, that I was convinced he was innocent of the capital crime of which he was accused. I gave him the hint of the declaration he published some days afterwards, and represented to him that he ought to endeavour to shut the mouths of the Protestants, to whose censure he had laid himself open, and that the only method he could use for that purpose, was to relax a little of that violence he had shown against them, by seeking to inspire the Catholics with more benevolent sentiments of them; and lastly, to appear publicly the promoter of that regulation I had so often proposed to him, to establish a perfect concord between these two bodies. If in this letter I added that his absolute justification in the king's opinion depended upon his future behaviour, and if, as to what had passed, I produced the example of Marshal Biron, it was only in obedience to the king's commands, who was willing to appear indulgent, but not weak.

Villeroy, in his answer to my letter, thanked me for the advice I had given him, which he assured me he would exactly follow, and for my good offices, which he protested he would never forget. He confessed that he ought not to have so blindly confided in a young man like L'Hôte, and was candid enough to acknowledge, that although his conscience did not reproach him with the guilt of any crime against the king, yet the error he had fallen into was sufficient to cast a stain upon his reputation, which all the faithful services he was resolved to continue to render his majesty, during the remainder of his life, would never wipe off. In his defence, he only said that the great obligations L'Hôte had received from him were what made it so difficult for him to believe he could fail in his duty. Villeroy seldom wrote to me without renewing the mention of his fault, his misfortune, and his innocence, and almost always the obligations he thought he owed to me on this occasion.

It appeared that Barrault did not give credit to the injurious reports that were spread of Villeroy by his enemies, since he wrote to him, a short time afterwards, and gave him an account of a conversation between himself and Prada, of which L'Hôte was the subject. Rafis had reason to be satisfied with a recompense that was made him; besides the sum

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of fifteen hundred and sixty livres, which he received from Barrault when he left Spain, a gratuity of a thousand crowns was bestowed on him, and all the conditions agreed to by the ambassador were fulfilled. This did not hurt Barrault himself, being paid in the last quarter of his pension. Descartes represented to the king, that a man could not live in Spain but at great expense; and that, notwithstanding all my letters, his master had not been able to get anything from that quarter.

The Memoir upon religion, that has been mentioned before, consisted of some articles, which, if received by the Catholics and Protestants, appeared to me capable of uniting the two religions, by destroying that detestable prejudice which makes them load each other with the harsh accusations of heresy and treason, impiety, and idolatry. This memoir I had drawn up with the consent and approbation of his majesty; and I showed it to him several times, in the presence of the Bishop of Evreux, Bellièvre, Villeroy, Sillery, and Father Cotton.

If the Protestants do not believe in all the Catholics profess, it cannot, at least be denied, that we believe nothing which they do not likewise; and that what we believe contains all that is essential in the Christian religion,—the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, being the great and general foundation of our common faith. This then is sufficient; let us consider the rest as so many dubious points, about which men may be left at full liberty to have different opinions. We are persuaded, that it is not only useless, but criminal, to search into the secrets of the Almighty; but we not only search into his secrets, but set up ourselves as judges of them, when we charge one another as criminal for having different opinions and different degrees of knowledge with relation to speculative truth, though knowledge, in all its different degrees, is received from God. Let us leave to Him alone the knowledge of his secrets, as well as the dispensations of his providence: let us allow to the sovereign magistrate what the public good requires, the power of punishing those who violate the laws of charity in any society; for it belongs not to any human judicature to punish errors only cognizable by God. Let us consider this in another view; if our unhappiness be such that the error

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is on our side, can the Catholics imagine that they shall bring us into their notions by abuse and persecution? Compassion and tenderness are the only means that do any service to religion, and the only means that religion dictates: the zeal which is so much boasted, is only rage or obstinacy, disguised under a reputable appellation. This was the groundwork of my Memoir: nothing can be more plain or more true; but, unhappily, the power which men allow truth to have over them is very small; and what is generally called reason in religion, if well examined, is, in most men, nothing more than their own passion.

If to reconcile the two religions be morally impossible, it may, with equal certainty, be said to be politically impossible, since it cannot be done without the concurrence of the pope, which cannot be expected, since it was not obtained in the pontificate of Clement VIII., who, of all the popes that have for a long time sat in the see of Rome, was most free from party prejudices, and had more of that gentleness and compassion which the Gospel prescribes to all its followers.

The holy father was at this time so old and infirm, that his death was hourly expected. The king thought it necessary to send the cardinals De Joyeuse and De Sourdis to Rome, to manage the interests of the nation in the approaching conclave. His majesty, by the advice of Cardinal Joyeuse, gave De Sourdis nine thousand livres for his equipage and the expenses of his journey, with a pension of two thousand four hundred crowns a year, during the time that he stayed at Rome upon his affairs.

One of the last actions of Clement VIII. was the promotion of eighteen cardinals at one time, which made it generally believed that this pope, finding himself near his end, was desirous of giving his nephew Cardinal Aldobrandini a last proof of his affection, which, according to all appearances, would place him upon the pontifical throne, by the great number of dependants on his family which were introduced into the conclave, or, at least, that the papal dignity should be conferred on one under whom this cardinal might expect to govern. Two of these hats were to be given to France; and the choice of the two men, whom the king was to name to his holiness for this dignity, was the occasion of a deep intrigue at court between the Bishop of Evreux and Seraphin

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Olivary * on one side, and Messieurs de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, and De Marquemont, on the other. The two last were supported by the interest of Bellièvre, Villeroy, Sillery, and all their friends; and I thought myself obliged to range myself on the side of Du Perron and Olivary, the one being my bishop and particular friend, and the other remarkably distinguished for his eminent piety. Notwithstanding all the intrigues of the opposite party, Du Perron and Olivary were preferred; and the former, by my advice, wrote a letter of thanks to Villeroy, as if he had really solicited his advancement: such is the custom of courts.

The pressing affairs that had obliged his majesty to leave Chantilly, and at the beginning of a fine spring, was the clearing and signing the common computations for the expense of his buildings, his hunting, his privy purse, as likewise of the fortifications, artillery, and roads. When the day was fixed for transacting this business, his majesty, to shun the crowd of petitioners who waited only for an opportunity of seeing us together, sent the young Lomenie to tell me that I need not come to the Louvre, because he would be himself the next day at the Arsenal; and accordingly he came so early in the morning, that many of the officers concerned in the affairs that were to be settled, all of whom I had sent for, were not yet arrived. The number of those was far from being inconsiderable, governors of fortresses, engineers, intendants, and comptrollers of the buildings, the several persons belonging to the board of ordnance, overseers of bridges and causeways, and others.

Henry had something of consequence to impart to me: I judged so by that deep melancholy which, notwithstanding his endeavours to disguise it, appeared in his countenance and language, and also because he led me into the great gallery of arms, the place where he generally communicated his secrets to me: and here the reader may expect to find one of those remarkable conversations that he has already met with in these Memoirs.

Our conversation did not turn immediately upon the cause

* Seraphin Olivary Cazailla, an Italian by descent, but born at Lyons, patriarch of Alexandria; Jerome de Villars; Denis de Marquemont, Archbishop of Lyons: he afterwards was made a cardinal, and ambassador from France to Rome.

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of his majesty's uneasiness: the heart involved in its own vexation has need, in the first instant, of the help of other objects to disentangle itself, especially if with this vexation be mingled something of confusion. The Dukes of Bouillon and Trémouille, therefore, and the rest of that cabal, were the subject the king began with; these persons having lately through malice united themselves with the Prince of Condé, the Marchioness de Verneuil, and the family of D'Entragues; and those from whom his majesty had received this information, offered to prove the truth of it by their own letters, and other undeniable testimonies.

Having desired the king to allow me a whole day to consider what advice it was most proper to give him on occasion of this new intrigue, he changed the discourse to his excursion to Chantilly, his hunting, then his losses at play, the money he laid out in presents to his mistresses, and other superfluous expenses, which were to be included in the accounts of the current year, as well as the money applied to the manufactures and other buildings, which altogether made up so considerable a sum, that Henry, who secretly reproached himself for these extravagances, could think of no better expedient to prevent the confusion he expected my remonstrances would give him, than to add, before I had time to reply, that I might also place there a gratuity of six thousand crowns which he now granted me. This precaution could not hinder me from giving evident marks of my astonishment and grief at the increase of such useless expenses. Henry again endeavoured to avoid coming to any explanation with me, by saying, that, after spending so great a part of his life in continual labours and fatigue, he had a right to allow himself now some indulgence in his pleasures. I answered the king with my accustomed sincerity and firmness, that what he said was indeed very reasonable and just, if, instead of those great projects he had communicated to me, and which by his orders I had imparted to the King of England, he had resolved to pass the rest of his life in the enervating pleasures of luxury; but that if he still retained any thoughts of pursuing his former schemes, he would deceive himself greatly if he supposed them compatible with such expensive amusements, and therefore he must determine his choice upon the one or the other. I stopped at these

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words; Henry having silently listened to me while I was speaking, like a man who was full of anxiety, and wholly absorbed in thought. But the present disposition of the heart, whatever that may be, always governs our first emotions, and in him that moment produced nothing but vexation and rage: yet he contented himself with telling me, that he perceived I had entertained very unfavourable thoughts of him, and commanded me, without troubling him any more, to carry the sums he had mentioned to account.

Still, however, I was not discouraged. I knew the heart of this prince as well as my own; I had always found him sensible to glory, and open to conviction, and I could not believe him changed in so short a time: instead therefore of having recourse to the ordinary palliatives, after telling him that I saw plainly the freedom I had formerly used in my representations was now become displeasing to him, I again renewed the former subject, and talked to him of the measures he had already taken in Germany and Italy, to prepare the way for those glorious actions he one day intended to perform, and the success the persons he had employed there for that purpose had already found. I repeated, that it was useless to take all this trouble, if the money that should be destined for those great enterprises, was squandered away on unnecessary expenses. I convinced him, by a very exact calculation, that he could not engage in the execution of these designs, without having beforehand forty-five millions entire, that is, the revenue of two years, which it required the strictest economy to keep together; and that with this sum the war could not be supported more than three years, without anticipating the royal revenues, or burthening the people with extraordinary taxes. This the following calculation will make evident.

The maintenance of an army of fifty thousand foot, which is the least that could be employed on this occasion, will cost nine hundred thousand livres a month, and nine millions a year, allowing only ten months to the year; six thousand horse, which is the number answerable to such a body of infantry, will require three hundred and forty thousand livres a month, that is, three millions four hundred thousand livres a year; a train of forty pieces of artillery cannot well be supplied at a less expense than a hundred and fifty thousand

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livres a month, or fifteen hundred thousand a year. These three articles alone make up fourteen millions each year; and, consequently, nearly forty-two millions will be required for the three years together, on a supposition that the war will continue so long. The expense of making levies, of hiring provision-carriages, and other things absolutely necessary at the beginning of a war, cannot be estimated at less than a hundred and fifty thousand livres; the waste of that provision, with other unforeseen expenses in ammunition, must amount likewise to the same sum. The remainder of the forty-five millions, it may easily be imagined, will be consumed in extraordinary expenses, too tedious to enumerate here.

The king still answered, that, before everything could be in readiness for the execution of these schemes, so many obstacles would arise as to render all his endeavours useless; but while he spoke in this manner, I perceived that his anger was already wholly extinguished, and that he approved of all I had said to him. This he immediately after confessed, and, at the same time, declared, with a sincerity truly commendable in an absolute prince, that the obstacles he had raised, and the severe things he had said to me, proceeded only from the anxiety of a heart oppressed with a more cruel affliction than that he had at first complained of, when he mentioned the traitorous cabal, and that his peace was wholly ruined by the behaviour of the queen and the Marchioness of Verneuil. These words, unhappily but too sincere, changed the subject of our conversation.

Henry's passion for Mademoiselle d'Entragues was one of those unhappy diseases of the mind, which, like a slow poison, preyed upon the principles of life; for the heart, attacked in its most sensible part, feels, indeed, the whole force of its misfortune, but, by a cruel fatality, has neither the power nor the inclination to be freed from it. This prince suffered all the insolence, the caprices, and inequalities of temper,* that a proud and ambitious woman is capable of

* He reproaches her on this account in some of his letters, which have been preserved amongst the MSS. in the King's Library, and are of his own handwriting. He writes to his lady in these terms: "I perceive from your letter that neither your eyes nor your understanding are extremely clear, since you have taken what I wrote to you in quite

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showing. The Marchioness of Verneuil had wit enough to discover the power she had over the king; and this power she never exerted but to torment him. She talked to him continually of her scruples, and regretted the facility with which she had yielded to his desires; scruples which he resented with so much the more reason, as he was not ignorant that she forgot them entirely with persons of inferior rank. They now seldom met but to quarrel. Henry paid a high price for favours which were not endeared by that tender sympathy which forms the happiness of lovers, and which, to complete his misfortune, occasioned almost continual uneasiness between him and the queen his wife.

This princess, on her side, who had from nature a temper too uncomplying, and from her country a strong propensity to jealousy, not being able to make her rival feel all the effects of her hatred, revenged herself upon her husband; and thus was this unhappy prince exposed to the fury of two women, who agreed in nothing but in separately conspiring to destroy his quiet. Whatever endeavours were used to produce a reconciliation between the king and his wife, were rendered ineffectual almost at the same moment. The queen began immediately to require a sacrifice that Henry could not make her; and his refusal, though softened with the grant of every other wish, affected her so sensibly that she forgot all his compliances, and laboured herself to continue the cause of her own uneasiness, by depriving him, together with the privileges of a husband, of all that tenderness and regard which conciliates affection and fixes inclination.

She was soon informed that the king had given Mademoiselle d'Entragues a promise of marriage, the original of which, as I have formerly mentioned, had been torn by me; but another had been drawn up by the king: and she never

a different sense to what I intended. An end must be put to these pertnesses, if you propose to keep the entire possession of my love; for neither as a king nor a Gascon can I submit to them: besides, those who love sincerely as I do expect to be flattered, not scolded," &c. "You have promised me," says he in another letter, "to behave with more prudence; but you must be sensible the style of your other letter could not but give me offence," &c. Amongst other original letters of Henry the Great, in possession of the present Duke of Sully, there is one from this prince to his mistress. (See the collection of the Letters of Henry the Great, lately published.)

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ceased tormenting him till he had promised to get from his mistress this paper, which, nevertheless, all the ecclesiastics whom she consulted assured her was of no force. Henry, merely to oblige her, at length resolved to desire the marchioness to restore it; and he demanded it of her in a manner that showed he would not be refused. He had just left her when he came to the Arsenal. The effort he had made upon himself to take this step, the little advantage he had drawn from it, and the offensive language with which his mistress had accompanied her refusal, had, all together, produced that deep affliction in which I saw him.

The Marchioness of Verneuil, upon the first intimation that it was expected she would resign the promise of marriage, threw herself into the most violent transport of rage imaginable, and told the king insolently, that he might seek it elsewhere. Henry, that he might finish at once all the harsh things he had to say to her, began to reproach her with her connexions with the Count of Auvergne her brother, and with the malcontents of the kingdom. She would not condescend to clear herself of this imputed crime, but assuming in her turn the language of reproach, she told him that it was not possible to live any longer with him; that as he grew old he grew jealous and suspicious, and that she would with joy break off a correspondence for which she had been too ill rewarded to find anything agreeable in it, and which rendered her, she said, the object of the public hatred. She carried her insolence so far as to speak of the queen in terms so contemptuous, that, if we may believe Henry, he was upon the point of striking her: and that he might not be forced to commit such an outrage to decency, he was obliged to quit her abruptly, but, full of rage and vexation, which he was at no pains to conceal, swearing that he would make her restore the promise that had raised this storm.

After giving me this account of the behaviour of his mistress, the remembrance of which renewed all his rage, he was forced to grant (and without his confession I should have much suspected it) that he should with difficulty bring himself to a resolution of keeping the oath he had made in the first sallies of his fury; and as it is usual with lovers, who never have so strong an inclination to praise the object of

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their passion as after they have said all the injurious things possible of them, Henry fell again upon the good qualities of his mistress, when out of those capricious humours, and when those sudden gusts of passion had subsided. He praised, with a transport of delight, the charms of her conversation, her sprightly wit, her repartees so poignant, yet so full of delicacy and spirit; and here indeed he had some foundation for his praises. The queen's temper and manners were so different, that the contrast made him still more sensible of those charms in his mistress. "I find nothing of all this at home," said he to me; "I receive neither society, amusement, nor content from my wife. Her conversation is unpleasing, her temper harsh; she never accommodates herself to my humour, nor shares in any of my cares: when I enter her apartment, and offer to approach her with tenderness, or begin to talk familiarly with her, she receives me with so cold and forbidding an air, that I quit her in disgust, and am obliged to seek consolation elsewhere. When my cousin Guise is at the Louvre, I have recourse to her conversation to banish my uneasiness; yet she often tells me plain truths, but it is with so good a grace that I cannot be offended, and am forced to laugh with her." Such was the disposition of this prince, and probably the queen had only herself to blame that she had not been able to draw him out of the snares of her rival, or to disengage him from every other intrigue of gallantry: at least, he appeared to me to be absolutely sincere, and to have the best intentions imaginable, when he pressed me, at the conclusion of this conversation, to use my utmost endeavours to prevail upon the queen to alter her behaviour, and accommodate herself more to his humour.

I was about to answer, for this subject seemed not yet half discussed, when we were interrupted by Messieurs de Vic, de Trigny, de Pilles, de Fortria, and others, who entered that moment, and told his majesty that the persons whom he had ordered to attend him had waited more than an hour, and that it was so late it would be impossible to do all the business that morning. The king, after recommending secrecy to me, followed them into the hall, and gave the rest of that day, and the two following, wholly to the affairs that had brought him to the Arsenal. The office of surveyor of the

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highways in Guienne was given, at my solicitation, to Biçose,* who was then in his service. A commissioner was appointed to demolish the fort of Craon. Many other new dispositions were made, which I shall not mention here.

The king did not fail to take the first opportunity to renew the conversation that had been so unseasonably interrupted. He had a reconciliation with the queen so much at heart, that he wrote me note after note, enjoining me to undertake the task he had proposed to me. I was sensible I ran great hazards by obeying him; a too free and too ardent zeal on these occasions with persons of this rank, often exposes the mediator to the resentment of one of the parties, and sometimes to that of both; besides, to speak candidly, this employment was less suitable to me than to any other person, these little broils being extremely disagreeable to my temper. I therefore resolved to omit no persuasions which I thought capable to make Henry himself take the only reasonable measures that were left him. I brought arguments, exhortations, examples, to prove that it depended upon himself to regain his quiet, and fix it upon solid foundations; and that all that was necessary for this purpose, was to exert the master and the king, oblige the queen to keep her ill-humours to herself and forbear her reproaches, and, above all, her complaints in public, which produced nothing but indecent reflections; and as to those who by their malicious information embittered the mind of this princess, to punish them severely for the slightest word they dared to utter against him. I represented to his majesty, that to secure his own peace, and the happiness of his life, required only that he should exert a very small part of that courage and strength of mind he had shown on occasions of a very different nature; that his reputation suffered from a weakness almost incomprehensible in so great a prince. I told him, that a sovereign, without incurring the imputation of tyranny, and by the sole privilege of his high office, might exact from his subjects and family, as well for his own person as his state, that obedience so necessary to preserve a just subordination, and secure respect; and that it was absolutely requisite and just that he should chastise such persons who made it their

* N. de Biçose, or Vissouse; he was secretary of the finances.

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business to destroy his domestic quiet. To these arguments I added the strongest entreaties. I conjured Henry, with uplifted hands and with tears in my eyes, to employ his authority on this occasion. The state I saw he was in filled me with the deepest concern.

It is certain that this prince had no other part left him to take; and I could never comprehend why he appeared so very averse to it. He remembered the advice I had given him at Blois,* which, being so different from that I pressed him now to follow, gave him a kind of advantage over me. He seemed to be pleased with having an opportunity to tell me, that I was, perhaps, the true cause of all that had since happened. But there was nothing solid in this objection, if well examined; and when I dissuaded his majesty from having recourse to measures which might have produced dangerous consequences (this secret I then vowed to keep), I had no intention to exclude him from taking such gentle and easy methods as would be justifiable in the father of a family to secure the tranquillity of his house. And Henry was reduced to the necessity of owning, that if I were well acquainted with his disposition, I would be convinced it was absolutely out of his power to act with rigour towards persons with whom he was accustomed to live in familiarity, and above all to his wife.

I had nothing left but to tell him, that then he must banish his mistress, and give his wife all the satisfaction she could require. But he anticipated me, by saying that he was ready, if it must be so, to remove all cause of complaint from the queen, provided he could be assured, that after making her so great a sacrifice, he should find her such as he wished; but that he foresaw he should be plagued all the remainder of his life, because this princess was weak and obstinate enough to believe, that by acting in the manner she did she followed the dictates of reason, when, in effect, she was only governed by her passions. Henry, to convince me of the justness of this fear, entered into a long enumeration of the queen's faults, in which he but repeated to me what he had said before, upon the delight she took in contradicting and teasing him; he only added, that she had discovered the most

* See vol. ii. p. 269.

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violent hatred to all his natural children, although born before she came into France, which it was not probable she would ever remit; he dwelt upon the little sensibility she had shown to his tenderness and regard for her, or gratitude for the extreme attention with which he anticipated all the occasions she might have for money, although he was not ignorant that she never received any but to squander it upon Leonora and her husband, and some others, who were continually filling her ears with malicious stories, and giving her bad advice. He took me to witness, that no queen of France had ever received so many and such considerable grants; and it is certain that I had been the first to favour and solicit for them by my wife, and this I did with a view to peace (which is often purchased by these means), and always by the king's orders. By the rage this prince expressed against Conchini and his wife, whom he considered as the creatures of Spain, and spies of the Duke of Florence, no one, doubtless, would have chosen to be in the place of these two Italians; but this rage had no other consequences than making him condemn himself for not following the advice I was free enough to give him when the queen came into France, which was, to forbid all her Italian attendants to pass the Alps with her.

This long conversation concluded with the same request as the preceding one had done, that I should attempt, by the gentlest methods I could think of, to persuade the queen to more submission to her husband's will, without giving her cause to suspect that I acted by his orders. Henry used every argument which he thought likely to have any force with me, to engage me to undertake this task, telling me he did not doubt my success, having, on an occasion similar to this, prevailed upon the queen to write a letter to him, when no one else could.

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BOOK XVIII.

[1604.]

Continuation of the preceding article, upon the disquiets and domestic quarrels of Henry IV.—Rosny endeavours to put an end to them—The risk he ran upon this occasion from the queen and the Marchioness of Verneuil—The malignity of the latter—Wise and disinterested conduct of Queen Margaret—Faction of the Protestants and seditious in the kingdom—Henry's journey to the provinces designed and prevented—Rosny visits his government—How received at Rochelle, Poictiers, &c.—Hatred of the Protestants against him—Other particulars and advantages of this journey—His reception from Henry on his return—Justification of the Duke of Epernon, falsely accused—New intrigues of the Count of Auvergne—Means used by Henry to have him arrested—Letters which he received and wrote to him—An account of his being seized—His trial—The Marchioness of Verneuil is likewise arrested—Rosny is employed to interrogate her—He can, neither by advice nor entreaties, persuade Henry to banish her from France—Weakness of this prince for his mistress.

AT the very time that the king gave me the before-mentioned commission to the queen, chance offered me a favourable opportunity to execute it. The usual method of making grants to this princess was either to create edicts in her favour, as those which I have just mentioned, or to grant to her the money paid upon contracts and bargains which succeeded through her interest and protection. These edicts and contracts always passed through my hands before they took effect; and it was my business to name, examine, and authorise the persons concerned.

The queen was offered four-and-twenty thousand livres to procure the grant of an edict concerning the officers of the Excise in Languedoc. She sent D'Argouges * to show me the

* Florent d'Argouges, treasurer of the queen's household; his son was first president of the parliament of Brittany, and at the time of his death a councillor of state, and of the privy council.

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edict, and acquaint me with the proposal. I told D'Argouges, that his majesty might, indeed, without doing the public any injustice, grant the favour the queen required, but that I did not think she took a good opportunity to obtain it, as the king appeared to me so discontented with some late proceedings of her majesty, that I was afraid he would not have this complaisance for her, unless she first endeavoured to remove his displeasure; and I took the liberty to offer her my advice and services on this occasion, if she thought I could be of any use to her. The queen, tempted by a sum so considerable, accepted my offer, and promised everything, believing that, by writing a submissive letter to the king, as she had done before, she should certainly succeed: accordingly she wrote a letter, and sent for me, to show it me, appearing willing to alter whatever I judged improper in it.

Never had any step she had taken cost her so much. She had so great an aversion for the Marchioness of Verneuil, that she would hardly deign to pronounce her name: but if any circumstance occurred to introduce the mention of her, her gestures, her emotions, her very silence itself, expressed, in the most lively manner, what she would not say. As it was absolutely necessary to accustom her to hear her rival spoken of, I put her upon this subject without reserve; and then she consoled herself with giving the marchioness the most severe epithets her imagination could furnish her with; she said she never could resolve to look favourably upon a woman who had dared to bring herself in comparison with her, and had inculcated the same insolence and want of respect for her in her children, who embroiled the State by countenancing the malcontents, while the king, blinded by his passion, took no care to restrain her.

I began by sympathising with her in her griefs; but showing her how much the cause of them was increased by her behaviour to the king, I made her so fully sensible of her fault, that she wrote another letter in the terms I dictated to her, and sent it to the king, who had left her at Fontainebleau, and was then at Paris. While he was under the impression of the joy this letter gave him, he returned her an answer so tender and polite, as it might naturally be expected would produce one from the queen in the same strain; but, unfortunately, just before this letter was delivered to her,

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her emissaries had informed her that the king was gone as usual to the Marchioness of Verneuil, and insinuated that he was diverting himself with his mistress at her credulity. She now forgot all that she had promised; said the king had deceived her; and, instead of writing, told the messenger who brought her his majesty's letter, with a cold and contemptuous air, that she should not write, since she expected to see the king the next day, as he had promised her. The king was piqued, as it was natural he should be, at this behaviour, and could not be silent: those who heard what he said in the first emotions of his anger, were not persons who would keep a secret, as I was, to whom he wrote directly. All that was said on both sides was reported to each of them, and matters were now in a worse state than before.

I was now engaged in a new affair, that of settling the debate; but at most I could expect only an interval of peace, which would continue no longer than others had done, while his majesty could not prevail upon himself to take the only effectual methods that remained. These proposals I again made him, when he sent La Varenne for me one day, to find, if possible, some remedy for his continual disquietudes, which became every day more insupportable. I found him in the Orangery of the Tuileries, which a shower of rain had obliged him to enter; and as he was repeatedly pressing me to tell him what he should do, and, upon my refusal, absolutely commanded me to give him my advice, "Then oblige four or five persons," said I to him, "to pass the sea, and as many others the Alps." The king answered, that half of my counsel he could follow without any difficulty, since nothing hindered him from exercising some severity upon those seditious persons who were conspiring against him in his court, but that it was not the same with the Italians; because that he not only had everything to apprehend from that vindictive people, but likewise by removing her favourites, he should give such offence to the queen, as would render her for ever implacable. The king, after reflecting a little upon the proposal I had made him, fell upon a very singular expedient, which was, to get this princess herself to consent to what I had advised. He stopped here, as if the thing had really been possible, and insisted upon my using all my endeavours to work this miracle, promising me, that if I

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succeeded, he would from that moment renounce all his gallantries. After the king had given me this new commission, he left me, as he said, to meditate upon it, and continued his walk alone in the garden, the rain having ceased during our conversation.

I did not begin with the queen by asking immediately a sacrifice which I saw she was not disposed to make; I believed that if ever a favourable opportunity offered to prevail upon her, it would be when there was a perfect agreement between their majesties; and this I laboured with so much assiduity to produce, that at length I reconciled them more thoroughly than they had ever been before; they agreed to forget all the past, and for the future to be deaf to all malicious informers. This calm lasted three weeks, and during that time the court was full of joy, and different amusements were thought of every day: but some new stratagems of the Marchioness of Verneuil having produced their ordinary effect, these good resolutions vanished again, and it became necessary, as a last resource, to attempt the expedient proposed by the king.

It may easily be imagined in what manner the queen received a proposal to send away, in some sort disgracefully, those persons of her household whom she loved the most. I expected she would refuse me, and I had no hopes but from my obstinacy in returning often to the charge: but this princess continued inflexible; and, to say the truth, Henry, on his side, so ill performed the promise he had given me, to reward this sacrifice by that of renouncing all other attachments but to his wife, that she drew from thence her best arguments for not yielding to mine.

What I had foreseen really happened; the queen instigated by those whom I directly attacked, began to seek a quarrel even with me, and complained that I had not kept my word with her, as if it had been in my power to separate Henry from his mistress. But I did not fail to observe to her, that she performed her promise no better; and by that appearance of coldness and dislike, which, after so many relapses, the king looked upon as insurmountable, she was herself the cause of that evil she imputed to me. I proposed Madame de Guise to her as an example she should follow, if she ever hoped to fix the king's affection solely upon

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herself. She afterwards complained publicly, that I did not pay all the respect I ought to have done to her letters: this I was acquainted with by the wife of Conchini, who was less unreasonable and imprudent than any other of her favourites, by whom she was absolutely governed. To this complaint I answered, that it was indeed true I did not always pay regard to letters which I saw written by the hand of any of her secretaries, because they were either dictated without her knowledge, by unjust solicitors who abused her name, or written with a view to draw her resentment upon me if I refused to comply with them; but as for those written with her own hand, I defied any one to accuse me with having neglected to answer them with the utmost deference and respect.

To say the truth, it was absolutely necessary that I should continually call to remembrance, as I did, the duty I owed to the wife of my king, that I might not be carried by her unreasonable importunities to any failure of respect or obedience; for indeed there was no end of her demands; the expenses of her household alone cost the king every year three hundred and forty-five thousand livres; all the gratuities, contracts, and edicts that were made in her favour, were not sufficient to supply her other expenses. She one day, in a fit of ill-humour, pawned her rings and jewels, or rather those that belonged to the queens of France, and there was a necessity for drawing money from the exchequer to redeem them; the edict of exempts was passed in every parish for her advantage; some receivers of Rouerque and Quercy being behindhand in their payments, the money was applied to her uses: she took upon herself to pay the nuptial expenses of Santi, her Italian gardener, and asked me for six hundred livres for that purpose; this was indeed but a trifling sum, but by such trifles as these one may judge of this princess's disposition with regard to economy. What could I do in this perplexing situation—since the inconvenience was equal whether I granted all, or refused all—but refuse whatever was really an encroachment upon justice and a detriment to the public good; and in such demands as must indispensably be granted, and especially edicts, to prevent any oppression in levying the money? As to their majesties' personal quarrels, it must be confessed, that in the king's conduct there were unac-

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countable weaknesses, and in the queen's inexcusable irregularities.

From the little success I had met with ever since I had first interposed in these domestic debates, I was at length fully convinced that in such affairs those only who were interested should undertake to mediate between the parties: I therefore quietly slipped my neck out of the collar, and willingly left the field open to Sillery, whom the king likewise made use of on this occasion. He sometimes found that Sillery managed the two ladies better than I, which I had no difficulty in believing: this employment required complaisance and dissimulation; I could neither flatter the sentiments of others nor disguise my own; and without this there was nothing to hope for and everything to fear: and here the resentment of both a wife and a mistress was to be dreaded, which made the danger so much the greater. By what has been related, my first position has been fully made out; and the second, I may say, was no less verified by the event, since, if I had not been extremely cautious, I should have certainly been the victim of the lover and the mistress, and upon the following occasion.

At the time when the misunderstanding between Henry and the Marchioness of Verneuil was daily increasing, I was desired by the king to make her very severe reproaches in his name. Instead of relenting, or confessing her fault, she assumed so haughty an air, and answered with so little respect, that for this once I began to hope the affair would only end in an open rupture, which was what I most ardently wished for. She not only refused to give his majesty the satisfaction he demanded of her, but appeared so fully determined to break off all commerce with the king, that she even went so far as to solicit me in the most earnest manner imaginable to prevail upon the king to consent to this resolution, as being equally necessary to the future happiness of them both; and desired that, as soon as I went home, I would write a letter to the king, which had been concerted between us, in which she expressed herself in terms strong enough to make me conclude she acted sincerely. However, the knowledge I had of this woman's character was sufficient to excite in me apprehensions that she would disavow all that I should write to the king, and pretend that I had en-

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deavoured, by underhand practices, to widen the breach between her and this prince; a conduct which, indulgent as he was, he never would have been able to pardon; for in love affairs he carried his sensibility and delicacy very far. I therefore took the precaution to send this letter (which was very long) to the marchioness before it was given to the king, and at the same time desired she would read and examine it with attention, that she might be convinced I had said nothing more in it than she had dictated to me; and entreated her to let me know whether I had not scrupulously observed the purport of her words. I recommended it in a particular manner to the bearer to bring me back no verbal message, but to oblige this lady to write what she thought necessary to be altered in the letter, and all that she would have me add to it.

She had already relaxed much from the severity of her first resolution; my messenger perceived it by her cavilling at the terms, and appearing dissatisfied, though she did not give the least hint that the letter should be suppressed. My servant, finding that she returned the letter, after all this vague declamation, without any positive answer, remembered the orders I had given him, and told her that, having a very indifferent memory, he entreated that she would write down what she had just said to him, that he might not incur any blame from his master for his having forgotten, or imperfectly reported, any of her words. She understood his meaning, but had gone too far to recede; she, therefore, took the pen, and wrote to me that she approved of the whole of the letter, except one expression, which was sufficient, she said, to put the king into a violent passion. I had told the king in this letter that the marchioness entreated him still to allow her the honour of seeing him sometimes, but to have no *private correspondence* with her; the last words she softened by adding, "*that might be prejudicial to him*," which made no great difference.

I carefully deposited the marchioness's letter, and sent mine to the king, not without having some hopes that pride and affronted love, if not reason, would prevail upon him to concur in the resolution his mistress had taken, and that he would at length cease to be the slave of a woman. In effect, he read my letter twice over with all the indignation and

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rage which might naturally be expected. "How!" said he, "does she desire our correspondence may be broken off? I desire it more ardently than she does; she shall be taken in her own snares." The king uttered these words in a low voice, but my messenger heard them. He asked for paper and pens, and wrote a note to me that instant, in which he promised that on the Monday following the Marchioness de Verneuil should receive a letter from his hand, which should prove that he still knew how to command his passions.

This note of the king's was dated the 16th of April, but that of Monday never came; on the contrary, on his arrival at Paris, he flew immediately to his mistress, flattering himself that he should at least overwhelm her with confusion, and force from her a thousand painful regrets. Far from it; it was himself that played this part; he disavowed all that his agents had done, he condemned himself; in a word, he threw himself upon the mercy of her who had just treated him with the utmost contempt. Then it was that I thought myself happy to be possessed of a letter from the marchioness that could restrain his resentment against me. She, however, imagined that this letter could not hinder me from appearing, through her representations, as an incendiary and slanderer. I would not take upon me to answer for Henry's good opinion of me that moment; but the letter I showed him when he came to the Arsenal undeceived him, though it could not open his eyes upon the arts of his unworthy mistress: he told me at parting that he would chide her severely. I did not believe him; and, indeed, how could I, after what had just happened?

After the reconciliation between the king and the queen, which was made, as has been seen, at the expense of the Marchioness de Verneuil, this woman, who, for the first time, thought herself really abandoned, undertook to ruin this peace, and unhappily but too well accomplished her purpose. It is wonderful to think how many springs she put in motion to awaken the king's love for her, and excite his jealousy; even religion was profaned to serve her purpose; she would be a nun, and devote herself to perpetual confinement; she openly joined the party of the malcontents; she sought out all the young women to whom Henry had discovered any attachment, and prevailed upon them to

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forge such promises of marriage as that he had given to her, of which she made so insolent a use as to pretend to derive from it a chimerical right to get the queen's marriage annulled; and, what is hardly to be credited, found ecclesiastics who countenanced her in these extravagances, and who were hardy enough to publish the banns of marriage which she boasted she would oblige the king to contract with her. At the same time a great number of letters and memoirs were distributed among the public, in which the ridiculous pretensions of this woman were supported.* Henry would have given any reward for a discovery of the authors of these writings; his whole court was employed to find them out, and myself among the rest.

I should never come to an end if I undertook to relate all the circumstances of this affair, which, trifling as the greater part of them are, brought a good deal of trouble upon some who had a share in it: but I am weary of displaying those little weaknesses in a prince, who, on other occasions, has afforded me so many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmness of his mind. This storm, which was occasioned by a mere love quarrel, ended, as usual with Henry, in an increase of tenderness for his unworthy mistress, which carried the misunderstanding between him and the queen to greater heights than ever.† It was fixed, that by a most unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, this prince should, throughout his whole life, seek his pleasures and gratifications at the expense of his quiet and his health. These two motives made me still interest myself in these un-

* See the Cardinal d'Ossat's complaints on this occasion against the courts of Spain and Savoy, and in particular against a Capuchin called Father Hillary, of Grenoble, who carried on a cabal at Rome in favour of the Marchioness of Verneuil's party. (Letters of the 22nd of February and 15th of October, 1601; and of the 1st of April, 1602. The liberty of publishing satirical libels was never so great as at this time.)

† "The Duke of Sully has often told me," says the author of "l'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils," "that he never knew them a week together without quarrelling. He also told me that once the queen was so far transported with passion, that, being near the king, and hastily lifting up her arm, he was so apprehensive she was going to do something further, that he caught hold of her with less respect than he wished to have done, and so roughly, that she afterwards complained he had struck her," &c. (Vol. i. p. 8.)

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pleasant affairs; for I could not, without the most sensible affliction, see the health of a prince so dear to me declining every day. He had not, indeed, any illness this year that immediately threatened his life, but he never gave so much employment to the physicians, La Rivière and Du Laurens; he was obliged to resort to bleeding often, and observe a strict regimen, to prevent the bad effects of a heavy and inflamed blood, which brought frequent indispositions upon him: rage, grief, and impatience threw him into such an agitation, that one day, being violently offended at some late proceedings of the Marchioness of Verneuil, the arm in which he had been bled the evening before opened again as he was sitting down to dinner. The queen accompanied him this year in his journey to Monceaux, whither he went to drink the waters of Pougues and Spa* with the greater convenience.

Nothing would have been wanting to complete the unhappiness of these domestic quarrels, if Queen Margaret had borne a part in them: this was the only misfortune that Henry escaped; and certainly this princess merited the highest encomiums for the sweetness of her temper, her resignation, and, above all, for her disinterestedness, in a situation that afforded her many arguments to urge a compliance with all she could desire; her demands were few, and for things not only necessary in themselves, but such as she had an incontestable right to, the fulfilling such engagements as had been made with her, and some exemptions for her borough of Usson; her chief solicitation was on account of succeeding to the possessions of her mother, Queen Catherine; that princess, by her contract of marriage with Henry II., was entitled to leave her effects, after the death of her sons, to her daughters, in preference to the natural children of her husband. Although this disposition was absolutely equitable, yet Charles of Valois, Count of Auvergne, pretended a claim,† to the prejudice of Margaret; she had not

* The Spa-waters are in the bishopric of Liège.

† By virtue of a deed of gift which Henry III. had made to him of these estates. In 1606 the parliament confirmed the will of Catherine of Medicis, and adjudged these estates to Margaret of Valois. Brantôme, in vol. vii. of his Memoirs, p. 38, gives an enumeration of these estates, consisting of the earldoms of Auvergne, Lauragais, Leverous,

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the principal writings that proved the legality of hers; but the king interposed his authority to make it be given her, and that she should obtain the justice that was due to her. Margaret, during her whole life, maintained the same rectitude of conduct; and from her behaviour it could never be discovered that she had once been the wife of the king. I should not confine my praises to what I have already said of her, were I not apprehensive of being accused of partiality; since the interest which this princess had always the goodness to take in my fortune is well known; her letters to me were such as one would write to a sincere and unalterable friend. "You are always," thus she expresses herself in one of them, "my resource, and after God, my surest reliance."

But let us now pass to other cares and uneasinesses that the king suffered this year from a traitorous cabal, in which the Marchioness of Verneuil will again have a place. Without repeating incessantly the names of the Dukes of Bouillon, La Trémouille, and De Rohan, the Count of Auvergne, d'Entragues, his wife, Du Plessis, and the rest, it may be easily imagined that these are the persons I mean. The same spirit of sedition by which they had acted in the intrigues they had set on foot with the Protestant party in the synod of Gap, still directed their enterprises, and suggested to them innumerable stratagems, either to raise an insurrection among the king's subjects, or make him new enemies abroad. It is scarcely credible how many slanderous lies were propagated of his majesty, how far they extended their influence, and how many plots were formed against the Government by the authority of these leaders.

The king, when he sent to me at Paris, by D'Escures, some advices he had just received at St. Germain-en-Laye, began in this manner: that although I had not already too favourable an opinion of this whole body, yet I should with difficulty believe what he had to write to me concerning it.

Douzenac, Choussac, Gerrèges, Hondecourt, &c., the yearly revenue of which, according to his account, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand livres; besides that princess's portion of more than two hundred thousand crowns or ducats, "which," says he, "would now be worth more than four hundred thousand," together with a great quantity of furniture, plate, precious stones, jewels, &c.

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Indeed, I am obliged to confess, that the proceedings of the French Protestants were such as left them no reason to complain of any one but themselves, if they one day met with a severe punishment for them. They boasted almost openly, that they would oblige his majesty not only to receive the Duke of Bouillon into his kingdom, but also to invest him with honours and offices worthy of a chief of the religion. Du Plessis, the soul that animated this body, suggested only such thoughts; La Trémouille had prepared his creatures for undertaking all things, by persuading them that they would very shortly behold a surprising revolution in France; the Duke of Rohan, in the mean time, took upon himself to spread this report in foreign countries, and in England especially, by a trusty emissary named Durand, who used his utmost endeavours to draw off his Britannic majesty from Henry's party. This man, who at London assumed the title of M. de Haute-Fontaine, showed himself so faithful and officious a servant, that the king, as well as every one else, was persuaded that he had exceeded his commission; for it was affirmed that he had treated on conditions for the re-establishment of his master in England, where he wanted to get him naturalised: if this design was not Durand's alone, it could only be suggested by the Duchess-Dowager of Rohan. It is also certain that the Duke of Rohan ordered Durand to present the King of England, in his name, with a horse of great price, which, in the present conjuncture, it was not justifiable for him to do, without Henry's consent.

But it was more necessary to enter into a strict examination of the Count of Auvergne's conduct than any of the others; few persons were ignorant of his connexion with Spain. He was then in Auvergne, where he was not idle, either with respect to the common cause, or his own particular one; he had made use of the promise of marriage given by Henry to * the Marchioness of Verneuil, his sister,

* The historians give no clear account of the purport of the treaty entered into by the Count of Auvergne with the Spanish council; but Amelot de la Houssaye will help us out on this occasion; and he is the more worthy of credit, as he assures us that the Count of Auvergne and the Marchioness of Verneuil entrusted the original of this treaty to his grandfather on the mother's side, their near relation and intimate friend, called Antony-Eugène Chevillard, paymaster-general of the

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to serve his designs, and joined to it a claim of his own yet more ridiculous than this writing: but in Spain he found persons credulous enough to consider them both in a serious light. It is certain that he had there acquired great credit and influence; we shall soon see to what it conducted him.

The methods his majesty made use of to render all these intrigues ineffectual, were to apply himself with his accustomed attention and assiduity to the affairs both within and without his kingdom, and to fill the intendances and other public offices with such men only as were distinguished for their merit, their probity, and their zeal for his service. Boucault was an example of this, who, from an advocate only, was made president of the court of aids in Montpellier, in reward for having usefully served his majesty in Languedoc. Henry likewise commanded me to assemble the chancellor, Villeroy, and Sillery, who with me composed a kind of council, to consider of this matter. By his orders, I still kept up a correspondence by letter with the principal Protestants, which I own was of little service to his majesty: his chief dependance, and with reason, was upon the journey he proposed to make this year to Provence and Languedoc,

gendarmerie of France. He further informs us that Chevillard, being involved in the disgrace of the Count of Auvergne, and sent to the Bastille, he kept the original of the treaty so well concealed in the skirt of his doublet, that no one discovered it; and finding himself treated as a state criminal, he by degrees eat up in the soups, and other victuals which were brought to his table, both the treaty and the ratification of it by the court of Spain, annexed to it. The King of Spain thereby promised to assist the Count of Auvergne with troops and money to place his nephew, Henry of Bourbon, on the throne, who was the son of Henry IV. by the Marchioness of Verneuil, and who, in that writing, is styled Dauphin of France, and lawful heir to the crown. (Art. Entragues-Balsac, Touchet.) Amelot de la Houssaye further assures us, in the note on the Cardinal d'Ossat's letters above mentioned, that two Capuchins, called Father Hillary of Grenoble, and Father Archangelo, the one at Paris and the other at Rome, had the guidance of this conspiracy. M. de Sully seems to insinuate as if something further had been intended in favour of the Count of Auvergne himself: perhaps he had some design of setting up some writing or disposition of his father, Charles IX., by virtue whereof he might pretend to claim the crown in his own right. See also on this subject the Memoirs of the Life of the President De Thou, and in particular his History, anno 1605. (Vitt. Siri's Mem. recond. vol. i. p. 297.)

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while I, on my side, was to visit Poitou and the western part of France.

I highly approved of this design when Henry communicated it to me; and we employed ourselves together a long time in making preparations for these two journeys; the necessity for going to take possession of my government served me for a pretext for mine; the king wanted no excuse for his: on the contrary, it was fit he should not appear ignorant of the occasion that made his presence necessary in the southern provinces of his kingdom, and openly avow his expectations of the good effects it would produce. On some pretence or other, I was to visit, either in my route or by going a little about, Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Guienne; and his majesty was likewise to take Berry, Bourbonnais, Lyonnais, and Dauphiny, in his way,* so that between us we were to go through almost all France. We settled the time of our departure, our stay, and even the place of our meeting, which was to be at Toulouse; and I looked upon his majesty's journey to be so certain, that I thought of nothing but of going immediately to Paris (for all this was resolved on at Fontainebleau) to settle the affairs of the government, that our journey might not suffer any delay; it being resolved that we should set out some time in the present month of June at furthest. Such persons as had business depending in the king's council pressed the conclusion of it with the utmost assiduity, as soon as his majesty's intention was made public; and the councillors rejoiced at this eagerness, because, that great part of them being to attend the king in his journey, they did not choose to leave the business they had begun to be finished by the new council appointed by his majesty during his absence.

This scheme, so well concerted, was never carried into execution, with respect to the king's part in it. As soon as his majesty's intended journey was declared to the courtiers, all was presently in an uproar; and it caused, as usual, much commotion at court. There was not one to whom this design

* See the original of a letter written by Henry IV. to M. de Rosny, on the subject of this journey to Poitou, dated the 20th of July, 1604, with an endorsement thereon, as most of his letters have, in the handwriting of this minister. (Henry IV.'s Letters.)

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did not give great uneasiness, and who did not use his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it; some, such as the ministers and great officers that were about his person, to spare the expenses of so tedious a journey, and the gay delicate youth of the court to avoid the fatigue and other inconveniences usual in such expeditions; so that, when his majesty proposed the affair in form to his councillors of state, whom he sent for expressly to Fontainebleau, and the principal lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, they opposed it with innumerable obstacles, without ever reaching the true one.

They alleged the uncertainty of the sieges of Ostend and Sluys; the fear of a league between England and Spain; the treaty of commerce depending between France and that crown; the affair of the Count of Auvergne and the Marchioness of Verneuil; the misunderstanding that had arisen lately between the republic of the Grisons and the Count de Fuentes, concerning the Valtoline, in which France was indispensably obliged to interest herself, on account of the Venetians and the Swiss: all those affairs I have already mentioned, or shall do immediately; in a word, they found so many inconveniences likely to accrue from this journey, and knew so well how to aggravate them, that the king was prevailed upon to alter his resolution.

They even suggested reasons to his majesty to make him change his opinion as to the necessity of mine. The affairs that then lay before the council began to appear to him of such importance, that, to prevent losing sight of them for so long a time, he, for this once, desired me to confine my endeavours to what I could do, without going farther than Poitou, and remit to another opportunity my design of visiting the maritime coasts. I do not pretend to deny that part of the arguments they made use of to dissuade the king from his journey had some weight: however, I believe I have mentioned the most important of them; and I still persisted in my first opinion of the great advantage it would be to the State.

One man whom the news of his majesty's intended journey did not a little perplex, and whose name probably the reader will not expect to find here, was Lesdiguières; and a report being then current that the Count of Soissons was shortly to

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be put in possession of those cautionary places given to Lesdiguières, it was natural for him to believe that he was personally concerned in the resolution his majesty had taken. His correspondence with the Duke of Bouillon was just come to light; Morges, who had given secret advice of it from Dauphiny, brought proofs of it when he came to Paris, which were confirmed by Du Bourg.

I set out from Paris in the month of June, and took the shortest road to Poitou, accompanied by several persons of quality of that province, who, upon the report of my journey, ranged themselves about me, some of them with no other intention than to pay me those honours which they thought due to their governor: but others, among whom I may, without scruple, put Richelieu* and Pontcourlai, attended me in my expedition with no other view but to get more certain intelligence of my designs; either from my own mouth, or by tampering with my people, to learn whatever should be done or said in my family, that they might afterwards give the chiefs of the Protestant party notice of all, and prepare them to oppose such measures as they imagined I might be ordered to take against them in favour of the Catholics; in a word, to take advantage of every little inadvertence, if it should happen that any did escape me, to render me criminal, or raise suspicions in the king's mind to my prejudice. But in this my enemies did not succeed, however they might in some other of their designs; the correspondence his majesty did me the honour to keep regularly with me, when I was at any distance from him, still continued as usual; and I had even more frequent opportunities of entering into his confidence and knowing to what degree he interested himself in the safety of my person. He often, with great goodness, bid me remember that I was in a country where, whatever appearance the inhabitants might assume, it was certain they wished me no good, and that I ought to be continually on my guard against them.

It was but too true that the king's enemies and mine had taken measures beforehand to render all my endeavours fruitless, and to animate the populace against me: that

* Francis du Plessis de Richelieu, father of Cardinal de Richelieu, and Francis de Vignerod de Pont-Courlai.

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which appeared most likely to produce this effect was to spread a report that the design which brought me to Poitou was to force the proprietors* of the salt-pits to yield up their property, and to purchase them for the king. Those in whom I discovered the greatest malevolence towards me were persons from whom it was least to be expected—my brethren the Protestants: but I mean the principal ones only; yet these affected to pay me outwardly all imaginable honours; and, although they refused to let me into the secret of their debates, yet it was always upon such plausible pretences that I had room to feign myself entirely satisfied. They were apprehensive of Parabère, who was more particularly attached to me than any of the others, though they well knew his ardent zeal for his religion, because he was naturally frank and open in his temper, and had intentions far more equitable: they, therefore, commissioned D'Aubigné and Constant to watch him narrowly, and never to quit him while he continued about me. But this malignancy with respect to me extended no further than to a small number of persons; or, if it did, they concealed it with great care. I was received with the most distinguishing marks of respect in every place where I made any stay; and in those that I only passed through they came to meet me, harangued me, and escorted me with ceremony on my way. The ecclesiastics seemed most eager to show me respect; and I never heard the least expression that suggested a doubt of my religion: the inhabitants of Poictiers, who have the reputation of being naturally rude and unsociable, gave me, by their polite and respectful behaviour, a very different notion of their character.

I was still more surprised at the conduct of the inhabitants of Rochelle: this imperious city, that usually makes it her boast to have only the king himself for governor, and under him her haughty and important mayor, who is generally elected out of three persons proposed by them to his majesty, might have laid great stress upon those mighty

* Pèrefixe makes no doubt but Henry IV. really had formed this design, and greatly commends him for it, as being the only certain method to free his people from the gabelle, or salt duty, which, he asserts, this prince was fully determined to abolish, as well as the taille. (P. 369.)

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prerogatives, with so much the more reason, in respect to me, as the city was not properly within the limits of my government; however, they gave me as honourable a reception as they could have done to a governor chosen by themselves. I entered the city with a train of twelve hundred horse: such an escort gave me the less room to be apprehensive of those attempts his majesty warned me to be careful of; the Rochellers opened their gates to this train, without any distinction of persons or religions; they were all lodged within the walls, and most of them in the houses of the citizens. At a public dinner, which was given on my account, and to which I was invited with great ceremony, they drunk the king's health, and said, that if his majesty had done them the honour to present himself before their gates, though followed with thirty thousand men, they would have opened them to him; and that if their gates were not wide enough to admit them, they would have thrown down three hundred feet of their walls. I saw nothing but respect and submission, and heard nothing but praises of his majesty; they likewise assured me, with the most flattering encomiums, that, if I had brought a train much larger with me, they would have acted in the same manner.

The dinner I have mentioned was served upon seventeen tables, the least of which contained sixteen covers; and the next day they entertained me with a collation as magnificent as the dinner had been; on the following day, between Coreilles and Chef-de-Baye, there was a grand representation of a sea-fight between twenty vessels fitted out with French flags, streamers, and other appropriate ensigns, and a like number equipped as Spaniards: the French were victorious, and the vanquished Spaniards were brought, bound hand and foot, before a picture of the king, exposed to public view, and afterwards presented to me as his lieutenant-general. I repaid this good reception by granting the Rochellers, in the name of the king, whose eulogium I pronounced publicly, the deliverance of their prisoners: excepting these and the Sieur de Lussan, I punished severely all that had infringed the treaties of commerce. His majesty was satisfied with having obliged the city of Rochelle to ask him for this favour, which he well knew how to make them pay for. At Poictiers I learned some circumstances which

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persuaded me the Count of Auvergne was much more culpable than I had hitherto believed.

The king had allowed me so little time to regulate the affairs of this province, that I was obliged to defer visiting the Upper and Lower Poitou till another opportunity. I could only obtain permission from his majesty to go to St. Jean d'Angély and to Brouage by representing to him the necessity there was for undertaking this journey to undeceive the people of that district, who suspected that the king had an intention to deprive them of their salt-pits. I set out from Rochelle to go to these two places, and was received by Messieurs de Rohan and De Saint-Luc still better than I expected. I used my utmost endeavours to recal Rohan to his duty and allegiance; I mentioned his intrigues in England, and exhorted him to recal Durand from thence: he appeared greatly astonished at this discourse, complained of the calumnies his enemies spread abroad of him; disavowed the agency of Durand; and, to convince me of his sincerity, acknowledged circumstances unasked, as the horse presented by him to King James, but assured me he had obtained his majesty's permission for it, which he could easily bring to his remembrance.

From St. Jean I resumed the road to Paris through Thouars, where I was desirous of having a conference with the Duke de la Trémouille. I did not expect so polite a reception from him as I really received, sensible that he must be greatly mortified to see me possess a government and receive honours to which he had aspired with such extreme ardency as to solicit them publicly. Our conversation often turned on the many causes of complaint the Protestant party had given the king; and even in the presence of Parabère, Saint-Germain-de-Clan, Besses, La Vallière, Constant, d'Aubigné (these were hardly ever absent), Preaux, La Ferrière, and La Saussaye; they all exclaimed loudly upon the injustice that had been done them by the king, protesting their fidelity and attachment to his majesty; and the better to impose upon me, accompanied their assurances with so much civility to myself, and such gross flatteries, that they fell into the other extreme of a too glaring affectation.

In the midst of all this art and disguise, I did not cease to penetrate into their designs, by turning the discourse, in

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their presence, upon the state of affairs in Spain and England. They betrayed themselves then, in spite of their endeavours to the contrary; and it was no longer possible for me to doubt that all this little court of persons attached to the Dukes of Rohan and De la Trémouille, was, in reality, such as it had been represented to his majesty; but what I discovered at this time, and the intelligence which the post I possessed in that province afforded me an opportunity of procuring, gave me, in the sequel, the utmost certainty that these gentlemen had no power with the rest of the Protestant party; they were no longer, as formerly, those absolute leaders who, with a single word, drew all their suffrages; but, on the contrary, they were shunned as men infected with the plague, when they came to deliberate in the assemblies. This they had brought upon themselves by their own imprudence in putting the party upon such dangerous and ridiculous enterprises, as had at length undeceived the most credulous amongst them; and the highest idea that could be now given of them was, that they yet formed a party in the midst of the party itself, though a very weak one, and only supported themselves by a vain exertion of authority, of which they but possessed the shadow.

I did not neglect to take all the advantage I could of such favourable dispositions, and entirely undeceived the people with regard to the injurious reports that had been spread among them concerning the salt-pits, the excise, and other monopolies, which had been made use of to excite them to sedition. They now began to have a more perfect knowledge of their king: their notions of his tyranny and their slavery were wholly effaced. I made the Protestants comprehend how groundless their suspicions were that Henry had ever designed to exclude them from any of the offices and dignities in the State, since it had always been his chief maxim to keep the balance even between the two religions. I convinced them, likewise, how much they had been blinded by prejudice with respect to Clement the Eighth, who was so far from endeavouring to extirpate the Protestants, that he had, on all occasions, strongly opposed making war against them.

My actions completed the work these assurances had begun: I distributed pensions among those of the party

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who had advised peace and served the king faithfully; and, to convince them absolutely that they were not deceived with regard to the equitable intentions of their sovereign, I showed them the paper that contained all the reformations he proposed to make in the State (the same that I have formerly mentioned), with which they were fully satisfied. By these means I so weakened the Duke de la Trémouille's party, that he could never afterwards add to it six persons of any consequence. The Duke of Bouillon was so greatly affected with the knowledge that he had lost all the remaining interest he had hitherto preserved in this district of France, that he determined to pass the rest of his days in that kind of exile which kept him, in spite of himself, quiet in the court of the Elector Palatine. Saint-Germain, who was not unacquainted with any of the duke's secrets, wrote an account of this design to La Saussaye, of whom he thought himself absolutely secure; but La Saussaye gave me Saint-Germain's letter, which I showed to his majesty.

Having thus performed all that the present conjuncture and the shortness of the time permitted me, I obeyed the king's repeated commands (which every one of his letters brought me) to return as soon as possible, and followed in a few days my last letter, which I wrote to his majesty from Thouars on the 16th of July. Before I departed, I visited the Duke de la Trémouille for the last time; he was indisposed when I came to Thouars, and I left him at the point of death when I set out from thence. He died * without being prevailed upon to promise that he would come to court, and his death deprived the malcontents of one leader.

I arrived in Paris on the 22nd of July, where I found a note from his majesty, dated the 18th, in which he desired me to send into every part of Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, whither I had a design to go myself, two persons on whose fidelity and understanding I could rely, and to come myself to him at Monceaux, where he waited for me, having left off drinking the waters. I was sensible, by the kind and obliging reception I experienced from this prince, that I had

* Claude de la Trémouille, Duke of Thouars, died of the gout, being only thirty-four years of age. (See his eulogium in De Thou, book xxxi., and Matthieu, vol. ii. book iii. p. 663.)

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been fortunate enough to give him satisfaction as to the business that had occasioned my journey;* and I now related to him, during the course of three days, all that I had omitted in my letters to him or to Villeroy.

It has been reported that the Duke of Epernon behaved at this time in such a manner in Guienne, as to give his majesty more cause than ever to suspect him; that I also distrusted his fidelity, and on this occasion did him all the bad offices that could proceed from a mortal enemy. This report, with regard to myself, I here declare to be absolutely false; and I believe what was said to the disadvantage of D'Epernon to be so likewise; and that the unfavourable sentiments they attributed to his majesty of this duke, have no better foundation. One would imagine that the opinion Henry entertained of him was sufficiently clear, by the letter this prince wrote to the duke on the subject of the dispute between Du Plessis and the Bishop of Evreux,† in which he treated him as a friend, a title he never gave to those whom he did not think worthy of it. And here I may add a circumstance of which I am absolutely certain, and can speak of from my own knowledge.

His majesty, after the time here meant, granted D'Epernon a thousand things unasked, and often pressed me to visit him, and give him other instances of kindness, even before I had received the same compliment from him. If Henry heard anything to the duke's disadvantage during his stay in Guienne, it is what I am wholly ignorant of; this only I know, that his majesty was easily freed from any remains of suspicion after the letters that D'Epernon sent to him and to me by Perronne, in which there were such evident marks of sincerity and conscious innocence, confirmed by the offer he made to attend his majesty upon the very first order he should receive, that he might put his person in his power, to answer for the loyalty of his intentions, that there was nothing left to reply. No one is ignorant of what passed between the king and the duke during the life, and even after the death of Henry III., and that this prince had discovered some re-

* De Thou says this journey of M. de Rosny freed Henry IV. from great disquiet. (Book xxxi.)

† See vol. ii. p. 178.

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sentment towards him; but this was at an end: forgetfulness of injuries is a virtue very rare among princes, and is thought yet rarer than it is. Sufficient regard has not been shown to the proofs which Henry more than once has given of that true greatness of mind which is capable of pardoning; and all that he did for the Duke of Epernon may be considered as an instance of his clemency.

For myself, I was so far from being an enemy to D'Epernon, at the time I have been speaking of, that I can bring a thousand instances to prove we had been in a perfect good intelligence with each other; but it is fit I should be believed upon my bare word, as I have hitherto shown myself equally incapable of disguising my sentiments, whether of friendship or hatred, or accusing the innocent, or justifying a traitor. D'Epernon had the misfortune to fall off his horse in Guienne, by which he broke his thigh and his thumb, and bruised himself likewise in the shoulder and elbow, which obliged him to keep his bed forty days, and lay during that time upon his back. I wrote to him a letter of condolence upon this accident, and he thanked me with the same affection which he usually expressed in all his letters, for he then treated me as a friend, and I was likewise his confidant in all that regarded the king.* Another of my friends, but one who had never been otherwise, from whom I this year received letters equally polite, friendly, and unreserved, was Bellegarde; they are dated from Dijon: he was then in his government of Burgundy. But it is time to return to the Count of Auvergne.

It now depended wholly upon the king to deprive this rebellious subject of all means of conspiring against the State: the unseasonable clemency with which he had been treated by his majesty at the time that Marshal Biron suffered a just sentence, was the cause of his relapse, as the tenderness his majesty had shown for this whole family, on account of the Marchioness of Verneuil, had first encouraged him in his revolt. It would not probably have been difficult to find such another opportunity as his majesty had suffered to escape him, when he received notice of the new intrigues

* See the originals of these letters in the old Memoirs; they seem a little to contradict one another in what relates to the Duke of Epernon.

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which the count was carrying on in Spain, and that fuller discoveries concerning those intrigues might be expected from the seizure of Morgan,* his chief agent, who was just then arrested; but the king was contented with suffering D'Escures to go, by my orders, to Auvergne, where the count then was, to discover the plot, and by gentle methods persuade him to come and throw himself at his majesty's feet.

In effect, D'Auvergne was convinced that this was the wisest and the only part he had to take: the seizure of Morgan had wholly disconcerted him, and the measures he had taken had been too imprudent to leave him a hope that his designs could be concealed, or that they were in sufficient forwardness to enable him to throw off the mask; he feared that by flying he should expose the Count and Countess d'Entragues, and his whole family, to a shameful treatment; he therefore yielded to D'Escures' arguments, and promised to go with him to court, and reveal to the king his greatest secrets, and even to show a letter from his sister, which he said was of the utmost consequence, provided that his majesty would grant him the pardon he had promised. The original of this letter, from the Marchioness of Verneuil, was not produced till the following year, and it was not very certain what credit should be given to it, because the brother and sister sometimes appeared to be on friendly terms, and at others in such high disgust, that they could not bear each other's sight. That which appears most worthy of observation in this letter is, that in it she exhorts her brother to a secure retreat in a foreign country, and appears herself determined to do the like.

That the Count of Auvergne was not very sincere in the promise he made D'Escures appears by his sending Yverné

* Thomas Morgan, an Englishman. (See De Thou, ibid.) [He seems to have been a notorious character, from the following passage, in a letter from Sir Thomas Edmonds to the Earl of Shrewsbury, relating the news from France respecting the Count of Auvergne and the Marchioness of Verneuil: "The matter whereof they are accused is that they conspired against the person of the king; and *old Thom. Morgan*, that is also a prisoner, is charged to have entertained practices for them with the Spanish ambassador," &c. &c. (Lodge's Illust., vol. iii. p. 255.)—Ed.]

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to Spain at the very time that he set out himself for Paris. The Bishop of Montpellier discovered this intrigue, and sent the king notice of it; but this prince was willing a second time to listen to the count's fine promises; he only ordered that the parliament should finish Morgan's trial, that the crime being made public, might give more weight to the pardon he was resolved to grant to the whole family of Auvergne, which was comprehended in it. All that this prince gained by the prosecution was, to get that famous promise* of marriage he had in vain solicited his mistress to return, restored to him by D'Entragues; which was done in the presence of the Count of Soissons, the Duke of Montpensier, the Chancellor Sillery, La Guêle, Jeannin, Gevres, and Villeroy, that this restitution might not be afterwards eluded by any restriction or disavowal; and an act was made, importing that this was the true and only writing given by his majesty on the subject; and the declaration of D'Entragues, confirming this, was joined to the paper.

This conduct of Henry was not calculated to make the Count of Auvergne less rash and enterprising; and in effect, he renewed his former intrigues almost before his majesty's eyes; his whole care was to deceive the king, who for a long time was imposed upon by his appearances of sincerity; but at length the whole mystery was discovered by some letters written and received by D'Auvergne, which fell into the hands of Lomenie, who carried them immediately to the king. His majesty was then convinced of the full extent of his crimes; but this conviction came too late, for the count, either by his own penetration, or that he received notice of what had happened, had time to leave the court before the resolution that had been taken to arrest him could be executed, determined within himself never to return to it again after the danger he had so lately escaped, and even to leave France altogether upon the least information that anything was resolved on against him.

The king acquainted me with the perplexity he was in through his own fault. D'Escures was sent again to Au-

* Henry IV., in order to get back this promise, was obliged to pay the Marchioness of Verneuil twenty thousand crowns down, and to promise a marshal's staff to the Count of Entragues, who had never been in any military action! (De Thou, book cxxxii.)

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vergne; he went a third time, but to no purpose; the methods that had formerly succeeded were now ineffectual. D'Auvergne always knew how to elude his return to court, to which he was earnestly pressed, but with such appearance of indifference and unconcern, that it was not possible to draw from his refusal a conviction of his crime, as it was expected they should do. He made the fairest promises imaginable, and always appeared disposed to set out. There was a necessity at length for making use of the only method yet unattempted, which was to secure his person: but this did not seem easy to effect.

I cast my eyes upon a man who appeared to me likely enough to succeed in such an attempt, and this was the treasurer Murat. His personal hatred to the Count of Auvergne, his knowledge of the country, the convenience he could have of staying a long time upon the spot without giving cause of suspicion, his resolution in any arduous enterprise, and his zeal for the service of his majesty, all promised a happy and honourable end of this commission. I proposed him to the king when his majesty mentioned the affair to me, and upon his approbation I sent for Murat, to whom I first acted with all the reserve and precaution that a matter of such consequence required. When I found that, instead of adducing arguments to excuse himself from undertaking this service, he anticipated my offers, I explained myself clearly, and perceived that the proposal was far from being displeasing to him; he only required a commission for it under the great seal, which was granted, and kept very secret. As we had not yet lost all hope that D'Escures might be able to draw the count to court, and in that case Murat would have nothing to do, when I gave him his instructions I enjoined him to act only in concert with D'Escures, and to conceal from every one the part he was to have acted in this business, if he found there was no longer any occasion for him.

D'Escures set out for Auvergne on the 17th of August (this was the third or fourth time of his going), and Murat followed him a few days afterwards, provided with blank letters for the cities and officers *des présidiaux*,* which were

* The *présidiaux* were a sort of inferior courts, established in certain towns of France, from whence appeal might be made, except in par-

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only to be filled up upon the spot. In the mean time some letters from D'Auvergne came to hand, in which he expressed so much fear and shame, that the king rightly judged he would never be prevailed on to appear at court, and therefore thought it best for D'Escures to avoid pressing him to take that step, lest he should increase his apprehensions. Murat had now orders to act singly; and D'Escures, on his side, to use his utmost endeavours to procure certain intelligence of all D'Auvergne's practices in Spain, and, if possible, to intercept the treaty which it was thought he had already made with the council of Madrid. All this D'Escures executed with such dexterity, that he prevented the count, artful and penetrating as he was, from suspecting any of those measures the council was now pursuing.

A little affair between a brother of Murat and the Count of Auvergne gave this trusty agent a pretence for going to the count, which, having settled between them, the count of himself entered into a conversation with him concerning the state of his affairs at court, which gave Murat an opportunity of seeming to regulate the advice he offered him upon what he himself had said. D'Auvergne founded violent suspicions upon the insinuations that were made to him, that the king expected he should show himself at court; and upon D'Escures endeavouring to persuade him to go, yet pretending not to know that it was the king's desire, he therefore assured Murat that he would not go; and that rather than expose himself to the fury of his enemies, he would submit himself to a voluntary exile in a foreign country; he mentioned the fate of Marshal Biron, which seemed to give him great apprehensions; and said, that, formerly having had the misfortune to offend his king, he could not resolve to appear before him till he had effaced the memory of his fault by new services, and till the pardon his majesty had granted him was confirmed. At length he gave Murat to understand, that his reason for not being willing to trust the intentions of the court, arose from the informations he had received of the danger he was threatened with if he appeared there, this

ticular cases, to the parliament; they were chiefly for the recovery of debts, though they took cognisance of all criminal matters except high treason.—Ed.

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notice having been sent to him from some of the courtiers themselves, persons of the first distinction, who were well acquainted with the affair, and deserved to be relied on.

Murat finding himself thus made a confidant of, answered with great seeming simplicity, that since the count had confessed his error to the king, he saw no inconvenience attending his return to court; that the pardon he had obtained made a wide difference between his case and that of Marshal Biron; and that nothing but a relapse into the same error could authorise his scruples, since Henry had never yet broken his word with any one; therefore his best counsellor would be his own conscience. D'Escures likewise laboured with equal solicitude to remove his apprehensions, and to inspire him with a distrust of those persons who sent him the information he had mentioned.

To all this the count only replied, that when his life was in question, he would not run any hazard; that neither the king, the queen, nor the princes of the blood, were his friends, and the master of the horse was his mortal enemy; that the silence of his friends on this occasion was one proof of his ruin being determined upon; that no one solicited for him to the king; that he now never received any letters from Villeroy, Sillery, or me, because we were not willing to reproach ourselves with having been the instruments of his fate; that the constable no longer corresponded with him, for fear of rendering himself suspected; but it was with the Marchioness of Verneuil he appeared to be most discontented; he knew his sister, he said, to make her peace with the king at his expense, was capable of charging him with pretended crimes, if she could not with real ones; and concluded with new protestations that nothing should draw him from his retreat. As he did not suspect that D'Escures and Murat were come with an intention to persuade him to go, he told them that he supposed Vitry would arrive in a few days, and expect to gain him with fair words, but that he would lose his labour.

The retreat D'Auvergne was resolved not to be prevailed on to leave was Vic, a poor house, without any conveniences, but situated in the midst of a wood, where he passed whole days under pretence of hunting. Although there had been no other proofs of his crimes, his fears, his continual

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alarms, the agitation of his mind, the wildness of his look and air, and the disorder of his whole person, would have been a sufficient testimony against him: nothing could be more miserable than the life he now led; and the terror and anxiety that preyed upon his heart, revenged, by anticipating his punishment, both the king and the State. He was afraid to stay in his house, yet durst not trust himself at any considerable distance from it; he was never seen in the neighbouring towns; he had left off visiting his friends, nor durst even confide in his mistress, a Madame de Château-Gay; he no longer visited her at her house, but when he chose to see her, they met in an obscure village, or in the midst of the fields, always in the night, and never twice together in the same place. His servants, whom he posted on eminences in the neighbouring places, were ordered to give him notice when they saw any one appear, by blowing a horn; and sometimes he made use of dogs for his guard.

With these precautions he defied all his enemies, and insolently, as well as imprudently, boasted, that he should always be able to deceive and escape from them: nevertheless, his resolutions were always varying, he never continued two moments in the same mind: and this man, so wise, so sagacious, penetrated so little into the intentions of those who came to destroy him, that he made them his friends, took them for his counsellors, and was many times upon the point of abandoning himself to their discretion. But prudence is a quality seldom found with a bad conscience: had D'Auvergne possessed ever so little of it he would have known that there was no safety for him but in an immediate flight to Spain; and this, probably, was the only scheme that never entered into his head. At the very moment when he appeared to D'Escures and Murat determined not to expose himself to the danger of going to court, he talked to them in a quite different strain. He once sent to them to come and meet him at a place three leagues distant from his own house: though this summons gave them at first some uneasiness, not knowing what his intentions might be, yet they went, and found that he had sent for them only to tell them he was now resolved to go and present himself to the king. His majesty, to whom they sent immediate notice of this resolution, and who gave the more credit to it on account of a false

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report that was added to it, wrote to me on the 19th of November, that D'Auvergne was at Moret, ready to set out for Paris. In this, it was not D'Escures and Murat who were deceived by the count, but the count by his own inconstancy; for he was the first to retain them with him, when they appeared willing to go back, and to refer them for his last answer to the return of Fougeu, from whom he expected to draw a great deal of intelligence; to which the two agents seemed to consent, purely through complaisance to him.

This whole account I take from Murat's letters. I received at the same time a letter from the Count of Auvergne himself. He had complained to the two agents that he never had any answer to four letters which, he said, he had written to me. I received, indeed, four from him, but all together; and the writing so like, although of different dates, that I perceived immediately what credit I ought to give to them. It was probable that D'Auvergne did not think of me at first, or believed that it would not be proper to make any application to me; but that, afterwards, supposing this method was likely enough to make his peace, for he often mentioned me to the two agents, he had recourse to it, with the well-known artifice of antedating his letters, to prove to me that this had always been his design.

If the count had any intention to draw a promise from me, which on this occasion he might make use of as a security, he deceived himself greatly: I sent him an answer, indeed, but as if I had nothing more nor better to say to him than what I had said before to Marshal Biron, when in a situation similar to his; I treated him like a State criminal, without augmenting his suspicions; in a word, the letter I wrote to Auvergne was but a copy of that which I had written to Marshal Biron; and he could not be ignorant that it was so, since I acknowledged it plainly. It was by this counter-stroke, which is doubtless of new invention, that I gave D'Auvergne to understand he ought neither to attribute to the king such sentiments of him as he really did not entertain, neglect the advice I had often given him relating to his conduct, nor lay a stress upon actions and reports that had no foundation but in his own troubled conscience. This was all that I wrote to him; and after his conviction, this pro-

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ceeding appeared so candid, and so free from all artifice, that he praised it greatly.

D'Escures and Murat at length found the opportunity they had so long waited for. M. de Vendôme's regiment of light-horse being to be reviewed, they imparted a scheme that they had concerted to D'Erre, who commanded it; and the general officers of this body being all agreeable, it was effected in the following manner: D'Erre went to the count and told him, that he being colonel-general of the light cavalry he ought certainly to be present at this review. D'Auvergne apprehended no danger, because he was not only mounted upon a horse, which, as he said, outstripped the wind (and, indeed, he was accustomed to make him gallop ten leagues without intermission), but he was resolved not to enter any narrow place, nor to dismount during the whole time. Accordingly he came to the review. Nerestan advanced to salute him, followed only by four footmen, in appearance, but in reality four stout and resolute soldiers whom they had disguised in liveries. At the instant that Nerestan was paying his compliments, two of these soldiers seized the reins of the count's bridle, and the two others, at the same time, laid hold of his legs and pulled him off his horse, throwing themselves upon him so suddenly, that he had neither time to lay his hands upon his pistols, nor draw his sword, and still less to fly. He was immediately conducted, under a good guard, to Paris, and shut up in the Bastille.*

D'Entragues was arrested at the same time that the Count

* "The Countess of Auvergne, as meek and humble as the marchioness was haughty and imperious, having thrown herself at the king's feet with all the marks of the deepest sorrow, to beg his pardon for her husband, his majesty with great courtesy raised her and saluted her, saying thus to her: 'I feel the utmost compassion for your misery and your tears, but if I should grant your request, my wife (taking the queen by the hand) must be declared a whore, my son a bastard, and my kingdom fall a prey to others.' The same lady having obtained the king's permission to send one to see her husband, and to inquire of him what she could do for his service, he sent her word only to let him have some good cheese and mustard, and not to trouble herself about anything further." (Journal of the Reign of Henry IV.) "The Count of Auvergne," says Amelot in the place before quoted, "had so entire a dependance on the fidelity of Anthony (that is, the paymaster Chevil-

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of Auvergne was; and the Marchioness of Verneuil was, in some sort, associated with the two criminals, since the king consented that she should be confined in her house,* where she continued under the guard of the Chevalier du Guet. It was this association that saved the lives of the father-in-law and the brother. At first they had not dared to hope for so much lenity; nor could the public expect it, after such frequent relapses, especially as they found that preparations were making for trying them with the utmost severity. The Count of Auvergne gave the king an exact account of his correspondences, as well within as without the kingdom; and he was obliged to give up that promise of association made by him and the Dukes of Bouillon and Biron, which had been mentioned before, and till now could never be forced from him.

Messages at the same time began to be carried between Henry and the Marchioness of Verneuil, but not on the same account; for I am persuaded the reader does not expect to see any great severity used towards her. The king could not resolve to leave her a single moment in doubt of her pardon; it was with difficulty that he endeavoured to save appearances, by sending different messengers to tell the marchioness that she should purchase this pardon by an absolute submission to such conditions as he should prescribe to her. La Varenne, Sigogne, the whole court, were employed in these messages, which, by the manner in which they were delivered, were indeed the real advances of a lover, who feared, notwithstanding his anger, that he should raise too strong an obstacle to his reconciliation with the object of his passion. The marchioness discovered and well knew how to profit by this weakness. I likewise served Henry for an interpreter upon this occasion, although I plainly perceived that he would not come off with honour; but he insisted upon my interposing, and I obeyed him, with an intention

lard), that in three examinations he underwent, he said, with as much intrepidity as if he had been entirely innocent in this respect, 'Gentlemen, show me one single line of my writing to prove I ever entered into any treaty with the King of Spain, or his ambassador, and I will write the sentence of my death under it, and condemn myself to be quartered alive.'"

* In the house of one Audicourt, in St. Paul's-street.

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to make the conclusion of this affair as honourable as I could for him.

The first order his majesty gave me was to go to the Marchioness of Verneuil, and hear what she had to say concerning the crimes she was accused of, to draw from her a confession of them, and make her sensible of her ingratitude. I cannot say that my commission went further, unless one take in several bitter reproaches, and some advice which proved to be useless, concerning the manner in which she ought to have behaved to a prince who had laid such great obligations upon her. I did not see her the first time I went to her house: she ordered me to be told, that a defluxion which was fallen upon her face hindered her from receiving any visits. I sent a gentleman to her, to know at what hour I should attend her; but, before my messenger was returned, a servant, whom she had sent in the mean time, came to tell me that she would see me at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I found a woman whom disgrace could not humble, whose insolence detection could not abate,* and who, instead of endeavouring to excuse herself, or to implore a pardon, talked in the style of one who had suffered wrongs, not committed them, and pretended to demand conditions for herself; she complained, she raved against the king, made new demands, wrapped herself up in reserve, and affected the devotee. I was not a person on whom these arts were to be played off; I neither flattered her pride nor soothed her resentment; I began with the greatest of her crimes, and reproached her with having joined herself to the enemies of the State; I told her that she would have reason to think herself happy if her punishment was confined to a permission

* "She said she gave herself no concern about dying, but that, on the contrary, she wished for death; but if the king should put her to death, it would always be said he had killed his wife, for that she was his queen before the other: upon the whole, she only desired three things of his majesty: a pardon for her father, a rope for her brother, and justice for herself." (Journal of the Reign of Henry IV.) "On searching her cabinets," adds the same author, "and making an inventory of all her papers, many love-letters (the implements of her trade) were found amongst them, some of which were from Sigogne, which occasioned his disgrace."

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to banish herself out of the kingdom, to end her days in any country but Spain; and that this favour would not be granted her till she had submitted to be examined as a criminal, and asked the king's pardon for her disobedience.

I proceeded in the next place to her insolent behaviour towards the queen. I made her sensible that to offend, as she had done, a princess, who was her queen and mistress,* by a thousand injurious reflections, was to attack the king himself, and expose her own person to a severe punishment; I reproached her with her ridiculous affectation of equalling herself to the queen, and her children to the children of France; with her haughty and insolent behaviour; and especially her malignity in sowing discord between their majesties: and added, that she would be compelled to throw herself at the queen's feet, to implore her pardon for all the faults she had committed against her.

Nor did I spare her upon her pretended devotion to which she had recourse, not scrupling, at the same time, to violate her principal duties to the king, the queen, and the state. I told her plainly that this show of regularity was mere grimace and affectation, which I proved by entering into a detail of her whole life, to let her see that I was well informed of her amours. I even mentioned them all particularly, to deprive her of her usual excuse, that they existed only in the jealous imagination of the king; and thence drew a new subject of shame and confusion for her with regard to this prince, whom she so grossly abused. I showed her what she would have done if her inclination for a religious life had been a real return towards God; and assured her that his majesty would never have opposed her retiring into a convent, if he had perceived in her behaviour any signs of true devotion.

I gave her, in short, all sorts of good counsels, which, indeed, she did not desire, nor was disposed to follow. She ought, at least, to have appeared willing to do so; but she contented herself with answering coldly, after hearing me the whole time with great indifference, that she thanked me, and would consider of what I had said. When I asked her

* "She sometimes said that, if justice were done her, she ought to be in the place of that clumsy tradeswoman." (Pèrefixe.)

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what causes of complaint she had received that had thus led her to violate her duty to the king, her answer was that if the king had asked her this question, he would have been to blame, since he knew them better than any other person; and if it came from myself, I was no less so, since I had no means of satisfying her.

Continuing still to question her, I asked what it was that she requested of his majesty. She answered, that although she knew well the king's inclinations would not be conformable to hers on this article, yet she still persisted to demand permission for herself, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and settle themselves somewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that he suffered only on account of his affection for her. I could hardly persuade myself this resolution was sincere. I contrived it so as to make her repeat it several times, and she never varied from it in the smallest particular. It was natural enough that the rage and grief she conceived at the imprisonment of her family, and the treatment she herself suffered, should make her form such a design; and the conditions she annexed to it absolutely convinced me that she was in earnest. Upon my obliging her to explain herself further as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, she said that she would not go among foreigners to starve; the queen should not have the satisfaction to know that she dragged on a miserable life in poverty and exile. She therefore insisted that an estate in lands should be given her of a hundred thousand francs at least, which was but a trifle, after all she might have lawfully expected from the king. These words, which she pronounced with great bitterness, doubtless related to the promise of marriage given her by Henry, the loss of which had affected her strongly: and she endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

I had never formed to myself any great expectations from an interview with the Marchioness of Verneuil; but I could not help laying some stress upon her repeated request to be allowed to settle out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it the more I was convinced that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue* could be unravelled; and all

* M. de Sully had made Henry IV. lose a favourable opportunity of

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that now remained to be done was to prevail upon Henry to consent to this proposal of the marchioness, by which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weaknesses, and purchase the future peace and tranquillity of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure these advantages: ought the effort, then, to be so painful? I was determined to use my utmost endeavours to accomplish it.

I went to his majesty; and, after giving him an account of the success of my commission, proposed to him the expedient that presented itself to free him from all his uneasiness. I was not surprised to find that it did not appear so happy to him as it had done to me; but I was armed with strong arguments of every kind to support it: what did I not say to this prince—what persuasion did I not use? Policy, interest, quiet, reason, each of these motives I dwelt upon, and exhausted all. I brought to his remembrance his own unfavourable opinion of this woman and her family; I repeated circumstances so much the more likely to rekindle his anger, as they had already often caused it; the harsh epithets he had given the Countess d'Entragues and her daughters; the intrigues, so well known and so incontestable, that had given cause for them; the sum of money granted by his order to pay for an imaginary sacrifice in the first favour, which he confessed, at the same time, was no longer in the power of

getting handsomely rid of his mistress, if we may believe Bassompièrre's Memoirs, where the thing is thus related (vol. i. p. 90): "The king asked whether he should give Madame de Verneuil anything to enable her to marry a prince, who, she told him, was willing to have her, provided she had a hundred thousand crowns more than she was then worth. M. de Bellièvre said, 'Sire, I am of opinion it will be well worth your while to give that lady a hundred thousand crowns, if she can find a good match by that means;' to which M. de Sully answering that it was an easy matter to talk of a hundred thousand crowns, but very difficult to find out the means to raise them, the chancellor, without taking notice of what he said, went on: 'Sire, I am of opinion that you should take two hundred thousand good crowns, and if that is not sufficient, three hundred thousand, or, in short, any other sum that may be sufficient, and give them to this fair lady to get her a husband; this, I repeat it, is my advice.' The king repented afterwards that he did not follow this advice." But, supposing this pretended match to be something more than a mere artifice of the lady, I believe it miscarried through Henry IV.'s fault, rather than the Duke of Sully's.

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his mistress to bestow; the untimely birth of the infant by a storm, and other anecdotes of the same nature, capable of disgusting a delicate lover. Never before had I made a discourse so pathetic, nor, in my own opinion, so convincing; all my tenderness for the honour of this prince was alarmed by the shame I saw ready to overwhelm him; I entreated, I implored, I exerted every power of persuasion; I was not discouraged by an ineffectual attempt; again I returned to the charge; my zeal became persecution, and sometimes carried me beyond myself, as it did in a conversation we had in the garden belonging to the Conciergerie at Fontainebleau, where we spoke so loud as to be heard by Bastien and Brunault.

Nothing was ever more singular or incomprehensible; a prince, whose great qualities might serve as a model for other monarchs, reduces us to the necessity of either throwing a veil over one part of that heroic mind, or of confessing that it dishonours the other. I take, without hesitation, this last path, while I lament the force of human frailty, for I hold myself under an obligation to do it, and should think I had laboured but by halves for the instruction of mankind in general, and of princes in particular, if I threw any part of this picture into the shade. I therefore open to them the recesses of that heart, where so much greatness was blended with so much weakness, that, by the contrast, each may become more conspicuous; and that they may be upon their guard against that dangerous passion, so capable of inspiring shameful affections, and of tainting their souls with vices abhorred before; mean artifices, cowardly fears, jealousy, rancour, rage, and even perjury and lies. Yes, I repeat it again, perjury and lies; Henry, that man on every other occasion so upright, so open, so sincere, became acquainted with all these vices when he abandoned himself to love. I often found that he deceived me by false confidences, when he was under no obligation to enter into true ones; that he feigned returns to reason and resolutions which his heart rejected; in a word, that he pretended to be ashamed of his fetters when he secretly vowed never to break them.

It was but too true that he was infected with that jealousy his mistress publicly reproached him with. This was easy to be perceived by the efforts he made to supplant rivals whom

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he was too weak to despise and too timid to punish. *Aut Cæsar aut nullus*, says he in one of his letters to me. What a strange contrast of caprices and extravagances! He was convinced that the Marchioness de Verneuil had recourse to the affectation of devotion to conceal her libertinism; and this conviction pierced his heart with a thousand cruel and insupportable wounds; but he felt, no less forcibly, the delight which the desire of triumphing over a real devotion gives to a depraved heart.

One of those caprices which most surprised me, and persuaded me that it was absolutely impossible to cure this unhappy prince was, that at those very times when he appeared most cool and indifferent in all he said of his mistress, yet the letters he wrote to be shown to her expressed quite contrary sentiments. I have made the same observation of the marchioness, but with less surprise. It must be, therefore, that these lovers, amidst the wildest transports of their anger, could not hinder themselves from still depending a little upon the latent tenderness of each other; and that their tenderness still subsisted without their perceiving it themselves; or that the king, ingenious in finding out methods to debase himself, had a long time before furnished his mistress with arms against him, which he would not oblige her to make use of by driving her to extremities; or lastly, and this is the least unfavourable judgment that can be formed of this prince, that some private transactions had passed between them, which Henry, through regret or shame, could not resolve to impart to me nor to any one whatever.

I have thrown together all that relates to the present subject, although part of the facts, as has been seen, such as the seizing of the Count d'Auvergne and the process carried on against his family, did not happen till towards the end of the year, that I might not be obliged to interrupt the narration so frequently.* I shall resume it at the beginning of the

* I here subjoin an anecdote of Vittorio Siri's, relating to the amours of Henry IV. and the conspiracy of the Count of Auvergne. This writer asserts (Mem. Recond. vol. i. p. 297) that one object of this conspiracy was to seize the king's person, by laying an ambuscade for him, and then putting him to death; and that D'Entragues, who had undertaken the execution of this project, intended to make use of the passion he

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following year, that we may see the event, after I have given, in this, an account of some other matters very different from those I have been treating.

had discovered the king to have newly conceived for his second daughter, who is represented as much handsomer than her sister, to draw him into the snare. He therefore sent his wife to fetch her away from Fontainebleau, making no question but the king would expose himself to any danger to come to see her at Malesherbes, which place is but three leagues distant from that palace; and truly, Henry immediately sent message after message to Mademoiselle d'Entragues by some of his courtiers, disguised in the habit of peasants. Her answer to which was, that she was so closely watched, that there was not the least probability of her being able to see the king. At last he could not forbear going there in person, accompanied by Marshal Bassompièrre; and not daring to go into the house for fear of being discovered, he was obliged to content himself with speaking to her at the window of a lower room; he wrote to her every day, and sent her verses of gallantry, which he got the best poets of the court to compose for him. At last they agreed to meet one another on a day appointed at a certain place, in a meadow named by the king, where they might be at full liberty, and where he promised to come in disguise. D'Entragues seemed to be entirely ignorant of all this contrivance; but either having mentioned to his daughter, or accidentally given her some reason to suspect his design, whether she really loved the king, or was apprehensive of the consequences, she broke off the appointment, and took other precautions against the danger to which Henry IV. was going to expose himself on her account. The king, wearied out by so many obstacles to his wishes, renewed his amour with the Marchioness of Verneuil; and if we may believe Siri, was often exposed to the same dangers with her; one day in particular, as he was going in disguise from Fontainebleau to visit her at Verneuil, he so narrowly avoided falling into the hands of fifteen or sixteen of D'Entrague's relations, who were upon the watch for him in the fields, in order to assassinate him, that his escaping them may be considered as a particular instance of his good fortune. But as these circumstances are not taken notice of in any Memoirs of credit of those times, they seem to be only some of those strokes with which a foreigner, on the authority of popular report, may think he has a right to enliven his subject. Mademoiselle d'Entragues, of whom we have been speaking, seems to be her, of Henry the Fourth's mistresses, whom he has celebrated under the name of Lisa; and there are still extant some original pieces of poetry which he sent her; amongst others a sonnet, of which I shall only repeat the four first lines:

Je ne sçais par où commencer,
A louer votre grande beauté;
Car il n'est rien, ni n'a été,
Que vous ne puissiez effacer, &c.

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What tongue can tell, what words express,
The beauties of thy charming face!
Since all we've seen, and all we see,
Appears but as a foil to thee, &c.

What follows is in the same strain. Though there is a remark at the head of this sonnet, of the handwriting of Henry IV., that it was made by Collin, a poet whose pen that prince was often pleased to make use of in works of this kind, these compositions are neither too correct, nor too poetical, to prevent our believing Henry himself might be the author of them, or at least in some degree concerned in them.

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BOOK XIX.

[1604.]

Henry IV. deposits his treasure in the Bastille—A council held on this occasion—Considerations and maxims of Rosny upon government—Means he makes use of to recover money—Verification of rents—Other operations and details of the finances—Regulations of the police and army—Establishment of a military hospital—The talents and abilities of Henry IV. for government—Causes of the weakness of States—Rupture between France and Spain on account of commerce—Peace restored by Rosny by means of a treaty—Particulars and substance of the treaty—Further account of the affairs of the United Provinces, of Spain, and of England—Agreement and treaty between the two last powers—Causes of the discontent of the United Provinces against England—The Constable of Castile comes to Paris—His conversation with the king—Other conversations between Henry and Rosny concerning this ambassador—Erroneous maxim of Rosny on the Salique law—Introduction to the execution of Henry's great designs—Affairs of the Grisons, and of the Fort of Fuentes—Proceedings of the French, and other particulars, on this affair—Dispute with the Pope on the subject of the bridge of Avignon—Terminated by Rosny in favour of the king—The acquisition of the earldom of St. Paul—Prudent advice given by Rosny to Henry on this occasion—Religious orders established in France.

THE king, from the year 1602, looking out for a safe and convenient place where he might lay up his revenues and the money which he set apart for the execution of his designs, fixed upon the Bastille, where he ordered chests to be made, and all other necessary conveniences: for this article he was obliged to publish a regulation that might bring this new disposition of money into method, to prevent the confusion of different offices, and to hinder the receivers from being entangled with the chamber of accounts. The regulation was this:

No money was to be carried to the Bastille but that which remained clear in the king's hands; all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, being first taken out of the revenues

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of the quarter in which they fell. The money was put into the hands of the treasurer in office, in the presence of the superintendent of the finances and the comptroller-general, who at that time was John de Vienne; the comptroller and I had each of us a key, and the treasurer had likewise a third: when his year of office was terminated, he received a certificate, signed by me and De Vienne, of the sums that had been put into the king's chests during his administration; this he put into the hands of his successor, and received from him an acquittance, which he was at liberty to show as his discharge. The new treasurer had a right to know whether the certificate was exact, by inspecting the money contained in the treasury; upon this acquittance, the treasurer was authorised to draw up his account, which the chamber of accounts was obliged to pass without further examination.

His majesty was of opinion that he ought early to publish his intentions and justify his conduct, both with respect to this accumulation of riches, and to the changes which had been already made, and which were still to be made in the finances. This was done in an extraordinary council assembled for this purpose. The chancellor received from the king, and published, the list of those who were to compose the council, consisting of deputies of the sovereign courts of Paris, named by his majesty, the principal members of his council, and the chief administrators of justice, the revenues, and police. They met on the appointed day in the great closet of the Louvre, which is at the end of the guard-room, joining that of the king's chamber. When they were all assembled the king came in, and having ordered the whole assembly to be seated, he explained to them the motives of his conduct in a speech of which the following is the substance: The civil wars, he told them, had reduced the revenues of the kingdom to such a state that the annual income was scarcely sufficient to clear the annual debt; and it was necessary, therefore, to improve the state of affairs, not only by inquiries and prosecutions, which had already so far benefited the nation that it was cleared of part of the debt, but likewise to form new funds, that if there should either happen a war of consequence or a troublesome minority, the king might neither be obliged to become bankrupt, nor to let public affairs sink into their former confusion, to support

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the expenses which could not otherwise be raised for this purpose; that the best use was to be made of peaceable times, in which there was nothing of that kind to be dreaded; that the means necessary to this, which, however, should be practised without doing any mischief by precipitation, were the extinction of revenues granted by the State on several pretences,—the reimbursement of offices, and the resumption of crown lands that had been given away.

His majesty was resolved to begin by examining the several grants of revenues; and this was to be entered upon this very year: here he let fall an expression to prepare their minds for the just severity of this procedure, by saying that, in the first place, he should endeavour to make a rigorous discrimination between those who had really paid in money the principal of the arrears which they were now receiving back from the king's revenues, and those who had made false claims upon the king. Henry added, that he reckoned so much upon the economy with which he intended to manage his revenues for the time to come, that he considered a design which required the amassing of large sums in the treasury, as by no means inconsistent with his purpose of easing the people by lessening the taxes, which he should always keep before his eyes. He exhorted the assembly to assist such just and upright intentions, and directed that they should twice a day, during eight days, deliberate maturely upon this proposition, and at the end of that time should lay before him the result of their deliberations. He promised to follow any good scheme that should be offered, with the same sincerity which he had discovered in imparting his own; and not to forget those who should give proofs on this occasion of their regard for the public.

Assemblies of this kind are, in my opinion, not to be condemned, even when they are only called to keep up a form which may be of no great use, since they serve, it may be said, no other purposes than to notify to the ministers, with less appearance of absolute power, the decrees of the prince already fixed in a secret council. This very assembly did not escape this reflection: the proposal of the king, though in itself unquestionably just and beneficial to the community, did not meet with the more approbation for its usefulness. I know not what will be said on this occasion by the assertors

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of the authority of the people, but I for my part am of opinion, and multitudes of instances like this sufficiently prove it to be just, that the designs of a good and wise king must not be at all times, and in every situation, the same with those of the people. The considerations which regulate popular opinions are seldom free from interest or passion, and never, or very rarely, reach further than the present. Those who judge best are themselves deceived by their own sense of interest, and seem, one by one, to have determined, though they will not confess, and perhaps do not know it, to procure their own satisfaction without any care about the future.

This corruption arises from the desire of present happiness, a desire natural to man; and, unhappily, it falls out in government as in policy, that there may be just reasons for deferring this completion of felicity for ten, twenty, or fifty years, and sometimes for a longer time. What means can be contrived to make this delay not offensive to the common people, and even to those who, though they have more knowledge, have the same passions with the vulgar? The case is otherwise with a wise and good king, or with a minister who represents him and performs the acts of government. His inclinations, it is true, ought to be directed to the good of his subjects, but he always knows that by catching too soon at happiness it is almost always missed, and that there is no proportion between the real evils into which men are plunged by such mistaken precipitations, and the vexations, merely ideal and imaginary, which are complained of by those that think they want something. Happy is the public when it is governed by such principles of policy as put it in the way to tranquillity; all regard to short-lived and transitory advantage is cast aside in consideration of the general good, and a wise king is not less a father of those subjects who shall live at the distance of three or four generations, than of those who live in his own time; and considers the false tenderness which he might have shown to his own time at the expense of succeeding ages, as the partiality of a father in favour of some of his children, which is to end in the ruin of his family.

The scheme which Henry had formed for the interest of his kingdom making it necessary that he should take all

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measures to increase his revenues, instead of making all those defalcations about which some who pretended great zeal for his service were continually talking to him, he required my private advice. The advance which I had made in the knowledge of the finances enabled me to discover some sources of large profit which would very little burden the people; of these I put nine into a memorial, which I presented to his majesty, as follows:

1. The contractors who in late times managed the chief farms of the revenue, had, under pretence of several employments which they represented as necessary, misapplied the money which they had received, and made those sums pass in their accounts, to the ruin of the exchequer, which was represented as having received them, though not a penny came to it. By this article alone the crown was robbed of several millions. Of these accounts and details I therefore demanded an exact revisal, that I might lay hold on the contractors, who had not been able so completely to conceal themselves under the different names by which they carried on their robberies but that I should be able to trace them.

2. The clergy of France had, by the mouths of the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, accused Castille, their receiver-general, of having detained their money. The petition which had been presented to me was accompanied with an account of the articles of accusation so positively and clearly stated, that nothing remained but that the king should reclaim the immense sum which the receiver appeared to have embezzled.

3. All the managers of the finances, and the people of business, particularly the treasurers of France, who had contributed much to the ruin of the finances, might be associated with Castille, by the erection of a chamber of justice; which must produce great advantages, if private intrigues and secret artifices could be kept out, by which these inquiries are often defeated.

4. The abuses in the alienation of the king's lands were so gross, that many of those who had them in their hands held them by mere usurpation, without any title; and the others had them at a price so scandalously low, that they were repaid by the income of the very first year, at six per cent., which was the interest then current. Of this I made his

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majesty fully sensible, who would not suffer these alienations to be exactly verified, that he might be drawn to consent to the resumption of all those possessions, or to some measures for obliging the possessors to pay the true price.

5. In the other offices and employments there was the same corruption, to be removed by the same means; the persons in possession were to be obliged to supply the deficiencies of their first payment in proportion to their salaries, or to give back their employments for the same sum for which they had purchased them.

6. The debts due to the Swiss cantons were, by a bad regulation, so far from being lessened, that they had been always increasing. I had already made such an alteration in that part of our affairs, that by the seasonable payment of one million, I had obtained an acquittance of eight; half of it reckoned to the principal and half to the arrears; and by taking the same method with the rest, the public was soon cleared of that debt.

7. As it was easy for the king to recover the possession of the crown lands that were alienated, so it was of great advantage to him to alienate I know not how many little parts of them, consisting in ground-rents, and particular claims, of which the expenses for repairs, leases, and receiving, sometimes under pretence of prosecutions, sometimes of drawbacks and improvements, were risen by the connivance of the treasurers of the finances, who alone made their advantage of them, to such a prodigious height, that, according to a calculation which I made, by reckoning ten years, one with another, a fifth part must have been added, before a single penny could come to the king. This was the chief source of plunder to the officers of the revenue. By alienating all these parts at the rate for money settled by the last edict, the king would be more than doubly a gainer, because he might buy with the money which this rate would bring in those parts of this revenue which were mortgaged at ten per cent.

8. The profit was yet greater with respect to the resumption of the royal revenues which had been alienated; some of the contractors had made me an offer to purchase them back to the king for forty millions, without obliging him to repay any part of the sum, provided he would let them take

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their choice of the part to be purchased, and allow them to enjoy them for a certain number of years, after which they would restore them to the crown, clear of all debts or incumbrance. The king, instead of accepting their proposal, had nothing to do but to get that money himself which they would have gotten by the bargain.

9. France had in her hands the infallible means of drawing to herself all the commerce of the Ocean and the Mediterranean, and to see them without any great expense in the middle of her provinces; all this would cost her nothing but the labour of cutting a canal from the Seine to the Loire, from the Loire to the Saône, and from the Saône to the Meuse;* and the first glance of this project presents us with more than two millions a year, which we should get from Spain alone, and

* Before the Duke of Sully came into the ministry, it had never been thought of in France to derive any advantage from the rivers; to which, nevertheless, it must be owned, the kingdom is indebted for its wealth and commerce. He began with the canal of Briare, but was not able to proceed further. Perhaps nothing will contribute so much to render the reign of Louis the Great immortal, as that wonderful canal for joining the two seas; the great benefits resulting to the nation from these undertakings, so happily executed, passing over the example Holland affords us, points out to us what remains to be further done, and at the same time proves, that, however difficult attempts of this nature may appear, they are yet far from being impossible. The joining rivers and making roads, which render the communication either of different provinces, or different parts of the same province more easy and commodious, are perhaps the two most important objects to which a wise government can apply its attention in time of peace; and by employing the soldiery, who are at such times useless, or that prodigious number of beggars, who are always so, in performing works of this nature, they will be executed at a moderate expense. Idleness, which generally makes beggars and vagabonds turn thieves and robbers, will at the same time be banished from the nation, and commerce introduced into every part of it. It is necessary there should be some principal centre for the riches of a nation; but nevertheless, other cities should not fall a sacrifice to the capital, which being in the body politic what the heart is in the human body, constantly receiving the blood, and as constantly propelling it even to the most extreme parts, they cannot be deprived of it without bringing a languor on the whole machine. Much trouble might be saved in studying the nature of those secret springs which give motion to the most minute branches of commerce, were due attention given to that simple and obvious principle of only supplying the country people with the means of living in ease and plenty.

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which would be real and solid wealth, as all that is which is produced by commerce.

I entered into a long series of particulars, when I gave in my report to the king; and I accompanied it with a paper, in which I cleared up the reality of some of the revenues which were not comprised in these articles. The king, who certainly expected a very different scheme, and whose natural liveliness of temper kept him from attending to my discourse so closely as was necessary, raised at first a thousand difficulties to all my designs; he said, that indeed the schemes were great, but some of them were wild and unsettled; others of no great profit; some difficult to be executed, and some hard to be made consistent with each other. All this was because he did not understand them. I knew well enough what his majesty wanted, and what proposal would have suited his inclination; an augmentation of the customs, creation of new offices, or a further alienation of his crown lands. If I would have shown him a scheme which I had myself drawn up upon these means of raising money, I might have brought fourscore millions of ready coin into his coffers; besides sixty millions more, by letting a lease of five millions a year, to which I had raised six of his farms above their former value. But I easily brought the king to allow, that though these methods were easily practicable, they were at the same time very burdensome to the people; that we ought not to have recourse to them but in the most pressing exigencies; and that the leisure of a time of peace should be employed in carrying on measures that required more time and application. Such were the nine schemes that I had laid before him, of which I assured him, that although he seemed to rate them at so little, yet if they were skilfully managed, and brought on one after another, they would in time make him richer than he was by two hundred millions.

The king fell into my opinion, and we determined to begin by the re-establishment of the public revenue, when I had shown by good extracts and authentic papers out of the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and other offices, that this regulation would, without the least injustice, bring six millions into the royal treasury. He engaged in this afterwards so warmly, that he showed the highest impatience to begin, and never wrote me a letter in which he did not

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mention it. To succeed in this, I thought it necessary that a new council or office should be erected; to this an opposition was made by the chamber of accounts, but no regard was had to their arguments. This council was composed of Château-Neuf, Calignon, and Jeannin, the presidents De Thou and Tambonneau alternately, and of Rebours; a treasurer and a registrar, who were Le Gras and Regnouard; and I was the chief of it, and present at it as often as my other business would give me leave; but whether I was there or not, everything went forward according to a scheme which I had drawn as the rule* of their operations. The relation of all our proceedings would be tedious; it is sufficient to say, that I had made a clear and exact distinction between the grants made at different times and from different funds; some had been bought for the payment of the third part of their price in ready money, some for half, others for the whole sum; there were some that had cost their possessors very little, some were obtained by mere fraud, and others honestly procured; these last were never touched otherwise than to settle them more securely according to their original condition; as for the rest, according to the degree of fraud and injustice with which they had been procured, we either struck them entirely off, or ordered the full purchase to be paid; there were some of which the possessors were obliged to pay back the arrears which they had so unjustly got into their possession; and others, who for having embezzled the arrears, were obliged to deduct them from the principal, which it was so much easier to pay off. The public gained another advantage, by suppressing a number of receivers of the revenue, who were a useless burden upon it, and of whom I left only one remaining.

The inquiry which I had proposed against monopolisers and officers of the revenue was afterwards carried on by the erection of a chamber of justice; but as the corrupt management of solicitation and intercession was not cut off, nothing was produced but the common consequence: the chief criminals escaped, and those who were less considerable suffered

* A more particular detail is given of these regulations in the old Memoirs; those concerned in the revenue may there have an opportunity of consulting them.

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all the severity of the law. Some remedy was found for this abuse, at least in the time immediately following my inquiry; for I took great care that when any man was found guilty of corruption, he should be immediately punished. Exact information was given of those that were committed at Rouen. Mankind now began to give to all these strokes of art the name that they deserved; and those unlawful gains which had so long impoverished France, and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated without ceremony as robbery and rapine; and honesty began to show her head in a sanctuary where she had never resided before.

The treasurers of France having this year presented their accounts full of blanks for non-payment, I could think of no better method to cure them of a practice which I very much suspected of dishonesty, than to assign them these pretended blanks for the payment of their next year's wages. The removal of Drouart, whose place was given to Montauban, and some other strokes of the same kind, taught the chief of these men of business to do their duty, and to do it well. By a decree passed against one Le Roi, they were forbidden, under a penalty of a hundred thousand livres, to take any foreigner as a partner in the king's farms. This decree was declared in the name of Charles du Han, farmer-general of the five great farms, to the chief persons interested in the revenue, and the other farms of the king at Paris and the other principal cities in the kingdom.

I complained to the king of an invasion made by the parliament of Toulouse on his authority, by forbidding any corn to be carried out of the province of Languedoc. I was informed of this by the treasurers of the province, because it threatened the ruin of the foreign customs, the farmers of which demanded a very considerable abatement: it likewise reduced both the galleys and the garrison to difficulties, as they were generally victualled from that part of the kingdom.

The four hundred thousand livres raised by augmenting the *taille*, into which half of the tax of a penny in the shilling had been changed, continued still to be paid; as likewise the other half, laid upon merchandise: though the edict by which these taxes were established was settled but for two years. The officers of the revenue made representations to

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the king upon this account: they complained of the low value to which certain farms were fallen which depended upon commerce with Spain, by the prohibition of that trade, as well as by the multiplicity of edicts daily issued by the council, and which they represented as more dangerous to the public than the *taille* itself. I allow, for my part, that their complaints were just, and had myself remonstrated to the king long before them. He had written two letters upon this subject, one to the council, in which he showed them that the present state of affairs, and particularly the armament of Spain, did not allow him to make any abatement in his revenues for the present year; and the other to me, to prevail upon the council to come into his opinion.

I gave him what assistance was in my power, as master-general of the Ordnance. The Arsenal was at that time stored with a hundred pieces of cannon; there were in the galleries small arms for fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse; and in the Temple and at the Bastille were two millions of pounds of powder and a hundred thousand bullets. I remember, that one day as Henry was walking with me in the Arsenal, he seemed alarmed at the number and power of the enemies who threatened him; but I showed him the formidable store by which he would be able to bring them all to terms. He then requested a list of his arms, ammunition, and artillery, with a summary account of his ready money, and what could be added to it in the years 1605 and 1606. He entered into my cabinet, and made my secretaries write these minutes, that he might have them always in his pocket.

The regulation and discipline of the soldiers was an article of government most necessary to be considered in order to its reformation. It is difficult to conceive, that, in a nation which from its first establishment has been engaged in war, and has indeed pursued no other trade than that of arms, no care should have been hitherto taken to form and methodise them. Whatever related to the soldiery of France was offensive and disgusting: the foot-soldiers were enlisted by violence, and made to march by a cudgel; their pay was unjustly withheld; they heard of nothing but a prison, and had nothing before their eyes but a gibbet: this treatment drove them into all methods of desertion, which was pre-

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vented only by the prevots, who kept them in their camp like men besieged: the officers themselves being ill paid, had some kind of right to violence and plunder. Henry would often say, and he spoke according to his own experience, that the public could never be well served till the troops were put into another state.

The first point, on which this new regulation must depend, was exactness of payments, which the king began by settling in a way that, for the future, it could neither be delayed nor the money appointed for it applied to any other use. This regulation was followed by another equally just and equally proper to reconcile the mind to the trade of arms: by this there was a provision made for the relief of soldiers when, by wounds or sickness contracted in the service, they were unable to live either by war or labour; things were managed so, that, in this state of misery, they wanted nothing either for their maintenance or their cure.*

The liberty with which I have expressed myself concerning the king's faults gives me a right to praise him for his good qualities. He was born with the virtues and method of eco-

* By the king's edict, dated the 7th of July, 1605 (for possibly this affair could not be concluded till the year after), his majesty granted to the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, disabled in his service, the Royal House of Christian Charity, built with the money arising from the surplus of the accounts of hospitals, almshouses, and spittals for lepers, &c., and from the pensions of lay-monks, and the oblats:[1] the superintendence of it belonged to the High Constable of France. The establishment has since been changed, or rather totally abolished, by what Louis the Great substituted in its stead, in building and endowing the Royal Hospital of Mars, or the Invalides, a monument alone sufficient to immortalise his memory. This House of Christian Charity was before this only an hospital, without any revenue belonging to it, built by Henry III. for maimed soldiers; it stood in the suburbs of St. Marcellus, in the street called Rue de l'Oursine, and was ready to fall down. Two years after, Henry IV. also caused the Hospital of St. Louis to be built; for this purpose he granted to the Hôtel Dieu ten sous on every minot[2] of salt within the district of Paris during fifteen years, and five sous for ever after.

[1] Lay-monks, or oblats, were soldiers disabled in the king's service, who had the maintenance of a monk assigned to them on the revenues of an abbey, as a reward for their service.

[2] A minot of salt contains four French bushels, and is something less than an English bushel.

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nomy, and therefore practised them without any constraint; particular details of business were to him merely an amusement. Princes who engage personally in the administration of government fall commonly into one of these two inconveniences: either they are incapable of submitting to moderate views, or they cannot raise them to any height. The mind of Henry adapted itself with the same ease to things small or great, of which his letters give sufficient evidence, and a way that was then used of applying to him immediately, sometimes for mere trifles, show it still more plainly. There had been long due two hundred and fifty crowns to a wine-merchant of Gisors, who had formerly furnished the household with wine. His majesty sent me to pay him, and to recompense him for the delay. "My conscience," says he, "obliges me to pity that poor man." I have, perhaps, told too many of these kind of stories; but my book would make quite another kind of a figure if I presented to the public all the letters which the king wrote to me.

As to those other ideas that had a higher object, either of interest, of glory, or public happiness, the king never lost sight of them, either in his vexations or his pleasures: that he might know whether my ideas agreed with his, he made many inquiries, and concluded at last that I should give him an enumeration of all those things by which I thought the glory of a powerful kingdom might be destroyed or sullied. I thought there was no better way of complying with his intention than that of presenting him a sketch, written with such simplicity, and with so few useless ornaments of style, that he might at once glance it over: it contained an enumeration, without proof or exposition, of those abuses which commonly find their way into public affairs. I here lay it before my readers, to whom it may serve as a compendium of the principles which they have seen, and must expect to see, diffused throughout these Memoirs.

The causes of the ruin or decline of monarchies are: exorbitant subsidies, monopolies, chiefly those relating to corn; neglect of merchandise, trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactories; the great number of public employments, the fees, and excessive authority of men in office; the cost, the delay, and the injustice of tribunals; idleness, luxury, and all that

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is connected with it, debauchery and corruption of manners, confusion of ranks, changes in the value of money, unjust and imprudent wars, the despotic power of sovereigns, their blind adherence to particular persons, their prejudice in favour of particular conditions or professions; the greediness of ministers and favourites, the degradation of persons of quality; contempt and neglect of men of letters; the connivance at bad customs, and infraction of good laws; an obstinate adherence to customs, either mischievous or indifferent; and the multiplicity of edicts and useless regulations.

If I were to choose among all the forms of government of which this monarchy has furnished examples, I should propose Clovis, Charlemagne, Philip the August, and Charles the Sage;* and I should wish that the eye might never fall so low as upon the reign of Charles VIII. and our times; and if I were to establish a single principle of government, it should be this, *that good laws and good manners produce each other.* But such is our unhappiness, that we never perceive this valuable connexion till corruptions and abuses have been carried together to the highest points; so that, among men, the principle of good arises always from the extremity of evil.

The regulations for the augmentation and securing of commerce appearing to Henry to be of the first importance to the public, he laid out the greatest part of his care upon

* It would perhaps have been still better to have also rejected the first three of these, and kept only to Charles V. On examining the characters of Henry IV. and the Duke of Sully, we shall find the one acted on the principles of a Roman, the other on those of a true Spartan; the maxims here laid down discover a mixture of both these principles. I have observed before, what correctives were necessary to modify the too austere temper of the Duke of Sully; I shall here take the same liberty with the too warlike disposition of Henry IV. A military spirit is undoubtedly necessary to defend a State; it ought therefore to be nourished with the utmost care; but it should, notwithstanding, be kept in the same state we keep a mastiff for the defence of our house, that is chained up, and very seldom indulged with the liberty of pursuing its own course, lest it should turn upon its masters and tear them to pieces. The reputation alone of courage produces almost the same effect as the exertion of it can. It may be laid down as a principle, that there are no means but what are preferable to war, if the same end can be obtained by them.

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them. The project of the canal for joining the Seine to the Loire* being ratified, I repaired myself to those parts, that there might be no mistake in the preparations that were to precede the execution, whether in taking heights, or levelling the ground, or laying hold of any advantages that might occur. I spent but little time in this journey, for the king recalled me as soon almost as I was gone. In the like manner I regulated several affairs of commerce in the journey I made to Poitou, as has been already related.

Of these affairs the most important and most perplexing was an unforeseen quarrel which happened this year with Spain, concerning the mutual traffic carried on between the two nations. The King of Spain had, in the preceding year, laid a duty of thirty per cent. upon all French goods imported into Spain or Flanders, as likewise upon all goods exported from these two States into France; a heavy impotion, which was at once an insult upon our nation, and tended to inflame the minds of his own subjects. The king returned it by expressly prohibiting all commerce with the subjects of Spain and the archduchies, and by a duty still greater upon all the Spanish goods landed at Calais; but this prohibition could not prevent the fraudulent carriage of our provisions to the enemy's country. The French merchants,

* This is the canal of Briare, which runs from that little town to Montargis, about ten leagues distant from it. It was to have been continued to Moret; but this part of the design was left unexecuted, and the canal itself was neglected, after more than three hundred thousand crowns had been laid out upon it, through the malice of those who envied M. de Rosny, or, according to Mezeray, through the change that happened in the ministry. This work was far advanced at that time; it has since been resumed, and at length finished. M. de Thou bestows great commendation on M. de Sully for being the inventor of this design. (B. cxxxii.) A further proof of this may be drawn from the silver and copper plates, or a kind of medals found in 1737, when they were at work on the sluices in this canal, and which it was certainly wrong to take from thence. The Count of Buron, one of the parties interested in this canal, sent the copper ones to the present Duke of Sully, which are now in the duke's cabinet of medals, but kept the silver ones, on account of their value. One of these copper medals is charged with the Duke of Sully's arms, and another bears this inscription: "1607. Maximilian de Bethune, under the reign of Henry IV., by the hands of Messire Peter Ozon, at this time Mayor and Governor of Montargis-le-Franc." The Duke of Sully has also lately recovered part of the memorials and other writings relating to this canal.

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notwithstanding the new monopoly, still found there were such great profits to be made on our grain and other goods, from the scarcity of them in Spain, that they exposed themselves, for those profits, to all the rigour of the law; and, on that account, there was a kind of sedition raised in the city of Marseilles, of which the president Du Vair sent immediate notice to the court. The merchants of this city lost all patience when they found themselves obliged to sit idle and inactive, while the Italians came and carried away their provisions, and deprived them of their usual profits. This permission, which was granted by his majesty to the Italians, was, in my opinion, ill judged.

The English were pleased at this new incident; and so far were they from endeavouring to accommodate the affair, that they secretly strove to make it worse, because they carried on the same trade fraudulently which the Italians were authorised to do. It was discovered that eight or nine English vessels had taken in their loadings of grain at the Sables d'Olonne, and sailed from thence to St. Sebastian, to disembark them; this, doubtless, was the resource the Spaniards depended upon, otherwise their prohibition would have fallen heavily upon themselves, which Henry, from the beginning, had flattered himself would happen; and it was the hope that Spain would suffer more from it than ourselves, joined to his solicitude to maintain the honour of his crown, that it might not be said his enemies could dispose of its commerce, which made him still require a strict observation of the prohibition he had published. He commanded me to send a person of probity and understanding to visit all that part of the country from the mouth of the Loire to the Garonne, and all along the borders of these two rivers, to see that this ordonnance was punctually obeyed; and he was empowered to punish all that should be found to have acted contrary to it; those being generally the places where such illegal practices were carried on. I gave this commission to La Fond, who executed it so well that his majesty kept him afterwards about his own person.

Henry, at the same time, ordered his ambassador in England to complain to King James of the practices of his subjects, and to give him to understand that if he made peace with Spain, with a view to appropriate to himself the trade

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we carried on with that kingdom, he would take such measures that France should not suffer alone, but that England should lose more by it than herself. This was tacitly to desire that he would offer his mediation to compose the difference between the two crowns; for Henry thought it probable that the King of England might be tempted by the apparent advantage of such an accession to the trade of his kingdom as to make peace with Spain; and he was now sensible, though too late, of the injury he had done himself, and that the arguments his council had made use of were all false: this threw him into great perplexity. Villeroy and Sillery were appointed by his majesty to attend to this affair with the utmost assiduity, and I likewise was ordered to confer about it with the constable, the chancellor, the Commandeur de Chastes, and Vice-Admiral de Vic.

We found many difficulties to struggle with on both sides. Trade must necessarily suffer great injury if the prohibition remained in force; and if repealed, great shame must reflect upon the crown. Henry could not resolve to do anything that, in his opinion, seemed to acknowledge his fears of Spain, who had not condescended to take any step that led towards an accommodation with him; and all that could be hoped for from his most Christian majesty was that, although he suffered the prohibition to remain in force, he would wink at the infringement of it by the merchants, that he might be at liberty to repeat it again if they too openly abused this indulgence, to the prejudice of the royal authority: as for me, the wound that was given to trade was the only thing almost that I considered; therefore, on this account, England and Spain were equal to me; and I represented to his majesty that the damage we must inevitably sustain made it necessary that he should use no more severity with the one than the other.

The King of England did not refuse his mediation in this difference; he even offered to engage for the faithful performance of the promises both parties should make on this occasion: but he affected to act as an arbitrator between the two crowns, and the king, offended with his vanity, would not accept of his mediation but in the quality of a common friend. The pope likewise began to interest himself greatly in the dispute, being apprehensive that a more dangerous

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rupture might ensue between France and Spain. He wrote to Cardinal Bufalo, his nuncio in France, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent it; and this cardinal, a short time afterwards, found a favourable opportunity to obey him.

The Count of Beaumont, who still continued to be our ambassador at the court of London, had often mentioned the late dispute concerning our trade in the presence of the Counts Villa-Medina and D'Aremberg, the one ambassador from the King of Spain, the other from the archdukes; and had even drawn up a kind of agreement with their concurrence, together with that of the President Richardot and Louis Vroreylzen, which had been communicated to the Constable of Castile, who was likewise at London; but his sudden departure, together with some other difficulties that came in the way, hindered this matter from proceeding so far as to get the preliminary of this agreement signed. The Constable of Castile passed through Paris, and had an interview there with Cardinal Bufalo, who pressed him so earnestly and upon so many motives concerning this affair, that he obtained a promise from him that it should be referred to the examination of some commissioners, whom he named for the king his master; the council of France appointed some on their side. But this method of proceeding was not likely to bring the affair to a conclusion, which, by being submitted to so many arbitrators, was protracted to an insufferable length. Bufalo prevailed upon Don Baltazar Stuniga, the Spanish ambassador in France, and upon Alexander Rovidius, a senator of Milan, who were interested in a cause for one of the parties, to refer everything relating to it to him; this done, that the business might on the side of the other party be wholly consigned to one person, he desired the king to give me a power equal to his, and without any adjunct: from that time the affair was thought to be in great forwardness. I went to visit the cardinal, and animated his zeal by a new incitement, telling him that we were upon the point of declaring war, and that his majesty was busied in making great preparations for it. In a few days I prevailed upon him to agree to the articles I had drawn up, by which the freedom of trade was secured; these articles were almost the same with those that had been proposed and discussed at London.

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The substance of this treaty, for such it became afterwards, although everything had been agreed on between Cardinal Bufalo and myself only, was, that the edict of thirty per cent., and that for the suspension of trade between the two crowns of France and Spain, should be and continue repealed: this was the great point. But the two princes having both endeavoured to justify their conduct by many reciprocal complaints against each other, which likewise related to the trade of their kingdoms, many other articles were added that tended to remove these grievances.

It was specified, that his most Christian majesty should publish an edict, forbidding all his subjects either to export or authorise the exportation of any Dutch goods into Spain, or any state under the dominion of that crown, by lending vessels, waggons, or any other sort of carriages; that the real French goods should be stamped with the seal of the city which furnished them, and should be inserted in a register; this was done with a view to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from a resemblance in the goods, which otherwise should be liable to confiscation; but they were not upon a bare suspicion of fraud to stop or retard the exportation of these goods; that all the Dutch who were taken in French vessels should be seized; that the French should not carry Spanish goods into any part of the Low Countries but those that should be specified in the bills; and that, to prevent any breach of faith, they should enter into an obligation in writing before the Spanish magistrate of the place from whence they set out, to pay the thirty per cent., which obligation should be returned to them upon their bringing back, within a year, a certificate from the magistrate of the place where they disembarked, either in France, or in any part of Flanders where trade was permitted; that the King of France should order all Spanish goods to be seized which were bought by his subjects in Spain to be carried into any of the prohibited places, half of which should be given to the informer, the thirty per cent. deducted; that the French magistrate who should be convicted of having given false certificates of discharge, should be prosecuted and punished; and that the two kings should mutually engage to leave the places of passage free. The article of the imposts which, ever since the peace of Vervins, were laid upon goods carried

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from Spain to Flanders, or from Flanders to Spain through Calais, and when they entered this port, having been already settled in the presence of this cardinal, nothing remained to be added to it. It was stipulated, that forty days after the date of this treaty, it should be published in the respective States on the same day; it was dated the 12th of October, and signed at first only by Cardinal Bufalo and myself.*

Although I was very sure that Henry would approve of this treaty, as he had been first consulted upon every article in it, yet I was apprehensive of the cavils of Sillery and the other commissioners, from whom the cognisance of this affair had been taken: the expedient I made use of, therefore, was to send Arnaud the elder with the articles to Sillery, with a civil request that he would give me his opinion of them. Sillery, without looking into them, answered hastily, that the affair was in very good hands, and that the person who had been engaged in it alone, might also conclude it alone. This answer would not satisfy me; I sent Arnaud back again to tell him, that it appeared to me necessary that the treaty should be signed by him and the other commissioners first named, and that I entreated he would come to my house and sign it; but that if he refused, I could not myself dispense from sending the treaty to his majesty by Arnaud, letting him know, at the same time, that the difficulty he made in signing it would delay the conclusion for two days; and this was no more than the truth. Sillery, being afraid that, if any accident should happen during this interval that might prevent this agreement on trade from taking effect, he should be answerable for it, went to Cardinal Bufalo's house and signed the treaty, as did also Villeroy.

The king, when he received a copy of these articles, confirmed by these three signatures, bestowed great praises on the cardinal nuncio, and made him a present of a cross of diamonds; he recommended him to the pope in a letter which was conceived in terms very advantageous for him,

* See the treaty itself in the Chronologie Septennaire. The king gives the Marquis of Rosny no other titles in it but that of master-general and captain-general of the ordnance of France. Cardinal Bufalo did not sign it, but only Messieurs de Rosny and De Sillery; Don Baltazar de Stuniga, for the King of Spain; and the senator Rovidius. (Matthieu, vol. ii. b. iii. p. 655.)

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and honoured him with the distinction of eating at his table. His majesty would not publish the treaty of commerce till the ratification of it arrived from Spain, but he secretly permitted the exportation of grain, which was what the people ardently desired.

About this time, another treaty was concluded at London between England and Spain, in which France could not avoid interesting herself greatly, after what had passed the preceding year between her and England. To be thoroughly informed of this treaty, it is necessary to represent the affairs, both political and military, in Spain and Flanders, with which those of England have in this respect a necessary connexion.

The siege of Ostend continued still to be carried on with the same obstinacy by the Spaniards; in the mean time, the Prince of Orange, at the beginning of the campaign, attacked the isle of Cadsan, which he made himself master of on the 10th of May, and afterwards of all the neighbouring forts, designing to open himself a way from thence to the frontier of Calais; and at length laid siege to Sluys. From Bruges the king received advices, that the archduke, who beheld this attempt with grief, had gone to assemble fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with whom he hoped to succour this place, by storming Ardembourg, which covered it; but that Maurice had so well intrenched himself there, that it was not believed he could be forced out, provided he had a sufficient number of men to guard his intrenchments; the Flemish general took likewise the precaution to carry his trenches as far as Ardembourg, that if he should be obliged to draw off his troops from the operations of the siege, he might be in a condition to reduce the place by famine, if he could not by force. Sluys surrendered on the 10th of August.

The Spaniards, animated by the vigorous resistance of their enemies, and a sense of the prodigious losses they had suffered before Ostend, thought their honour still more concerned after this success of the Prince of Orange, to prevent their being foiled in an enterprise which had lasted so long. De Vic informed his majesty by D'Auval, who was returned from England, that they had caused three mines to be blown up before Ostend, but without success; however, it is certain that Ostend was reduced to the last extremity; the Spaniards

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boasted that they would take it before the end of July; and that they would still have time to go and deliver Sluys with all their forces reunited. No one gave credit to this boast, especially when Persi le Riche, captain of the regiment of Nerestan, who had lately come from that place, said positively at Paris, that it would still hold out six weeks or two months. In effect, Sluys surrendered before Ostend, for the Flemish defended themselves with a courage that has few examples; they were seconded by a reinforcement of eleven companies, which made up between a thousand and twelve hundred men, all fresh, which had been just sent them by the States, under the conduct of General Marquette. They fell upon an expedient to make an inner intrenchment, which might enable them, when reduced to a necessity of capitulation, to obtain more advantageous terms, by holding out there; and they found means, pressed as they were, to throw in ammunition and money.

This was a new and surprising spectacle for all Europe, that a little State, which forms but a scarcely perceptible point in the map, should dare to raise her head from the midst of her marshes, and brave, during so long a time, the formidable power of Spain. It is wonderful to think where they found forces, or funds to pay them, for it was computed that this war cost the States twenty thousand florins a day; the perplexities to which they were often reduced were not indeed known; they hardly any longer knew to whom they should have recourse, and were obliged to apply to every one for relief. The Duke of Bouillon having promised them a sum of money, they sent Captain Sorroques to receive it; but he came back without anything but the regret of having put his masters to the expense of four or five thousand florins, which their compliments to the Princess of Orange cost them.

Henry was their usual resource: sometimes they requested a hundred thousand crowns, at other times two hundred thousand weight of powder, for they consumed great quantities of it: there was no end of their demands. Buzenval, whom his majesty ordered to reside in those provinces, to give him an account of all that passed, was of great use to them in supporting their solicitations with the king, who at length was the only power that continued to be their friend,

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when all the others had abandoned them. The Dutch expressed great fondness for Buzenval, and kept him with them as it were by force, when he was recalled home. And who, indeed, was there whom they did not soothe and endeavour to engage in their interests? They would have made me a very considerable present, but Buzenval, whom they acquainted with their design, assured them I would not accept it; and they contented themselves with offering me, by Aërsens, some curious pieces of shell-work, and some coach-horses of their country, for my wife. Henry showed a readiness to oblige them, which could not proceed from self-interested motives, and which, with that people, ought to have given him the merit of one of the founders of their liberty. They must be ungrateful in the highest degree if they ever abandon a crown to which they owe such great obligations.* Henry wrote to me this year, when I was in Poitou, that Buzenval had made him new requests in favour of the States, which probably it was not prudent to grant; but that he could not resolve to abandon them, whatever reports might be raised in England, or whatever threats Spain might throw out against him.

It is easy to judge what the present war must have cost Spain, which was in effect the assailant, by what I have just related of the United Provinces, who kept themselves merely upon the defensive, and did not stir from their own doors; and of the resentment that Spain preserved against us. The council of Madrid, enraged at the losses they sustained by a war that had almost drained their treasury, which, however, they concealed with the utmost care, often threatened never to forgive the treatment they received from the French. Henry affected to be ignorant of these threats, and he acted wisely; the council, by this impotent anger, showed its own weakness, and it was well known in France that his Catholic majesty's revenues were exhausted.

Ostend† was taken at length on the 22nd of September, and Henry had the consolation to see that for five or six

* Grotius speaks of it almost in the same words in his book, intituled, "The Annals and History of the Troubles in the Netherlands."

† See an account of the surrender of Ostend and Sluys, and the other actions of this campaign, in De Thou, the Septenaire, Matthieu, Siri, Bentivoglio, and other historians, an. 1604.

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hundred thousand crowns, which this expedition had cost him every year since it first began, he had considerably hastened the ruin of his enemies the Spaniards.

It might reasonably be expected that the treaty I had negotiated with England the preceding year would have produced greater things. Spain was convinced that she would lose Flanders entirely, if she did not find means to make some change in those dispositions in which I had left the King of Great Britain. After my departure, therefore, from London, she renewed her intrigues and solicitations to obtain at least a neutrality in what concerned the United Provinces, if she could not bring his Britannic majesty over to her party. The Spaniards, at first, thought they ought to make very high demands; and afterwards their offers also were as high, to procure a grant of part of those demands. Their first proposals were rejected without being examined; but these were followed by another, which gave them hopes that they would prevail upon the English to abandon the Dutch, knowing they had nothing so much at heart: this was to make the Indian trade free to both nations. But this offer proved ineffectual, because Spain, foreseeing that there would be still a necessity of abating something in her demands, added a condition that destroyed its force, and required that England should enter into a league offensive and defensive with her. The King of England's council having many strong reasons for rejecting this alliance, made no scruple to confess that it was the interest of their crown to support Holland, instead of openly taking part with her enemies.

It was now absolutely believed that the Spaniards had nothing to hope for from England: Beaumont was the only one who was of a contrary opinion, and he foretold, that, notwithstanding all these apparent obstacles, they would come to an agreement, which in effect they did. The Spaniards some time afterwards returned to the charge, still lessening their demands, according to their subtile maxims of policy, and commissioners were appointed on both sides; the disputes ran so high that they were many times upon the point of breaking off the conference. The affair imperceptibly turned into a more peaceable negotiation; the English commissioners reduced the Spanish ones not only to express no resentment against France, but they were the first to say

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that she ought not in any manner to be excluded. They never mentioned the two kings without joining the third to them; and even treated the States with respect and consideration, appearing inclined to come to an agreement with them, at all events. All this was done to conceal from his Britannic majesty whatever in the real design of this negotiation was contrary to the first, and to remove all his scruples.

To this battery they joined the assistance of little anonymous writings, in which the authors endeavoured to prove that peace was equally advantageous for the three kings. In one of these papers, which was supposed to be written by an Englishman, because the power of the King of England was greatly exaggerated, who, says the author, can subsist independent of any other State, though none without him—as if the Spaniards were not capable of so high a flight of flattery to secure the success of their designs—in one of these papers, I say, it was maliciously insinuated that this peace was desired with equal ardour by the three kings; but that their most Christian and Britannic majesties secretly wished, at the same time, that it would give them a claim to the possession of Flanders.

However, they could come to no agreement during the space of a year, and it was not till the 21st of June this year that the negotiation was likely to succeed; but it went on rapidly at the beginning of July, and was so far advanced that no one in England doubted of its being concluded as soon as the Constable of Castile should arrive, who was upon the point of going to London in the quality of ambassador extraordinary from his Catholic majesty, and furnished with full powers to conclude the peace. The same opinion prevailed in Paris; and it was even believed there, that not only England but the United Provinces had secretly made conditions of agreement with Spain; and that the States, by the interposition and arbitration of his Britannic majesty, had put an end to the disputes on occasion of the cautionary towns, the navigation of the Indies, the liberty of trading without paying thirty per cent., and others. But why, if this was so, did we not see the siege raised, and other hostilities cease on both sides?

This report, however, was absolutely false, at least with

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regard to the imaginary agreement and arbitration. The States perceived but too soon, and even while the conferences were subsisting, that they had nothing more to expect from his Britannic majesty. This prince became weary at length of struggling so long with his inclinations: he affected to be the common friend of all Europe. He had lately given the name of Great Britain to his united kingdoms, and had made a solemn entry into London, where a conference was held by his orders to reconcile the Church party and the Puritans; for his pacific notions extended to all things. He did not reflect that by this conduct he was about to exclude from the benefit of a peace those very persons who had most need of it, the Dutch, whom he left to the mercy of their enemies. The English already began to abuse every one of that nation whom they found trading in their ports; and when the Dutch alleged, as usual, that the English ought not to concern themselves with a certain kind of traffic upon their coasts, they replied that they had permission to do it from the King of Spain, their sovereign. Nothing so irritated the Dutch as speeches of this nature; and if the inhabitants of Flushing had been suffered, it is believed they would have murdered all the English they had amongst them: but the fatal consequences of such a proceeding being represented to them, they restrained their rage.

The States had expected a quite different treatment, when at the beginning of the conferences between the commissioners, his Britannic majesty insisted that they should be admitted, and their agent, the sieur Le Caron, heard there. Le Caron acknowledged that at first he had good reason to be satisfied with the English commissioners. Upon the Spaniards introducing the subject of the Dutch cautionary towns, which they passionately desired should be put into their hands, the English told them that they could do no otherwise than surrender these towns to the council of the United Provinces, when the money lent upon them was repaid: and when the Spaniards retorted, with some resentment, that the restitution of them ought to be made to those who had given them as hostages, the English councillors only answered, that if the States refused to pay the money that was lent, they would make the same proposal to the Spaniards. They were likewise favourable enough to the

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Dutch in the article concerning trade, which held them a long time in dispute: the Spaniards insisted that Holland should open to them the trade of the Flemish coast, and particularly that of Antwerp, which she had, as it were, locked up, by building several forts upon the Scheldt, and, among others, that of Issot: but the English soon cooled in these favourable intentions for their neighbours. Buzenval, whose letters furnished me with great part of what I have related concerning these conferences, judged thus of the event: that the English knew well what would be the consequences of this new plan of politics which they had embraced, but that great jealousy of us, and a little folly, had suggested all that had been done on this occasion.

Matters were in this state when the King of England thought proper to inform his most Christian majesty, by his ambassador at the court of France, of his intention to conclude a treaty with Spain, the English ambassador presenting the memorial to the king at the same time. His Britannic majesty, in this memorial, persisted still in the strange opinion that this treaty was not inconsistent with that of the preceding year. James had attempted to persuade Beaumont to believe the same, and promised Henry that he would defer the conclusion of it till the disputes which then subsisted between the two crowns of France and Spain concerning trade were terminated. The commissioners, however, did not scruple to sign the treaty* between Spain and England, and referred Beaumont to the arrival of the Constable of Castile to settle the affair of the trade between this nation and Spain. The constable was applied to when he passed through Paris on his way to London; but he prevented, by obstacles which he purposely raised, the conclusion of anything with Cardinal Bufalo, who had already begun to interest himself in the affair. But what was still more surprising, these commissioners, without giving Beaumont any satisfaction on that head, had the assurance to demand the impost on the port of Calais to be taken off. Beaumont, who

* This treaty is no way different from a true treaty of peace; the Kings of Spain and England engage their allies in it, that is, all the States and princes of Christendom, who are named, except the United Provinces alone. (It is set out at large in the Septen. an. 1604, Matthieu, p. 650, &c.)

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knew it was his majesty's intention to continue it, even after the affair of thirty per cent. was concluded, which had no relation to that, evaded the proposal by making one of the same nature to them.

The Constable of Castile passed through France again the latter end of September, on his return to Spain, carrying with him the treaty concluded, and arrived at Paris just as the treaty of commerce was concluded there likewise. He demanded permission, the next day, to pay his respects to the king, to whom he presented himself with an air and countenance full of satisfaction; he made him a studied compliment, which for that reason was perhaps the less sincere. Taking for his subject the two agreements lately made, he endeavoured to persuade this prince that France and Spain being the two most powerful monarchies of Christendom, a strict union between them was the necessary and infallible means of accomplishing every enterprise they should undertake in concert; he laid great stress upon the alliance which had at all times subsisted between France and Castile; he dwelt upon the advantages of this association, which would give the same friends and enemies to the two crowns, and upon the means of rendering it indissoluble; which was, he said, to be wholly free from all partiality; to divest themselves of all jealousy of authority and pre-eminence; to explain and determine, in an amicable manner, their pretensions upon certain provinces and cities of Europe. He did not forget to insinuate to his majesty that the Protestants were enemies, which policy required should be humbled; and he concluded his speech with representing to the king the advantages that a double marriage between the children of the two kings must necessarily produce: a marriage which seemed, he said, by the circumstances of the times, to be already determined in heaven. He artfully assured the king that he had no authority from his master for what he had said on this subject, but entreated him to acquaint him with his sentiments on it; because, though they were only overtures made by himself, yet, if they had the good fortune to be approved by his majesty, he should with the greater confidence propose them afterwards to the king his master.

I was not present at this discourse, but the king came to the Arsenal on purpose to give me an account of it. He

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stopped, after relating the Spaniard's proposals, telling me he desired to know what answer I should have made to them, before he repeated that which he had given himself. I replied, with the same gaiety, that I could tell him immediately, but that I would defer satisfying him till the next day, that I might take time to consider of it, and prevent him from accusing me of precipitation, as he often did when my opinion had not the good fortune to please him. His majesty consented to it, smiling, and gave me a little tap on the cheek, as was his custom when he was in good humour.

I went the next day to the Louvre, to acquit myself of my promise, and found the king walking upon the terrace of the Capuchins; I told him that if he still remembered a sentence which I had once applied to the Spaniards, and which he thought diverting enough, "that they preferred works* to faith," he would not be long at a loss to know what answer I would have made to their ambassador: that after so many breaches of faith, so many perjuries and violations of truth, with which Spain had dishonoured herself in the sight of all Europe, the Constable of Castile's discourse would have seemed to me to be a new stratagem of the King of Spain to break off the alliance between his majesty and the United Provinces and the other Protestant powers, his friends, that he might find a still more favourable opportunity of invading his kingdom than his father had done. This being a fact of so atrocious a nature that no palliation of it ought even to be attempted, I recalled it to his remembrance, and added, that but for England, Holland, the French and foreign Protestants, his own incredible labours and incessant fatigues, Spain had probably at this day talked to him in the style of a master; that the council of Madrid, accustomed to profane all that is most sacred in religion, abused the name of marriage, which had nothing sufficiently binding in it to restrain their lawless attempts. And here I made an observation to Henry, which appeared to me to have great weight in it.

It was not, I told him, a stroke of such wise policy as was generally believed, to marry the sons of France into families

* In allusion to one of Calvin's doctrines, which is censured by the Catholic Church.

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almost equal to their own, such as that of Spain;* for besides that there was no alliance, however close, but must yield to the hatred which ambition inspires against a rival, the advantage that was expected from these unions might be destroyed by the very cause which made it too considerable; but it was quite different with marriages contracted with inferior families; from them, at least, we might promise ourselves all the assistance they are in a condition to give; the honour of an alliance with the most illustrious house in the world is too flattering for them not to make them contribute with all their power towards the support of its grandeur, and the increase of its glory. Spain, by this practice, has found the secret of considerably augmenting her power, by means less rapid, indeed, but also less hazardous than war.†

I take this occasion to observe, that I am not of the common opinion with respect to the Salique law; that law so much talked of, which is nowhere to be found in writing, but whose original is sufficiently demonstrated by the name it bears; as its antiquity is proved by the uncertainty even of this origin.‡ It has been generally considered as the surest

* By this stroke of politics, France nevertheless gained the crown of Spain to the house of Bourbon, after the death of Charles II.

† "The house of Austria," says Guy-Patin, "has gained great inheritances *per lanceam carnis*; that is, by alliances and marriages."

‡ As to the Salique law, the Abbé du Bos speaks of it as follows, in his Critical History of the Establishment of the French Monarchy in Gaul (vol. iii. b. vii. pp. 290, 291). "It probably obtained its name from its being already in force amongst the Salian Francs, when Clovis incorporated into their tribe all the tribes that acknowledged him as king, in the year 510, except the tribe of the Ripuarii. The most ancient digest we at present have of this law, is what was made by the order of King Clovis, and afterwards corrected by the orders of Childebert and Clotarius, his children. In the year 798, Charlemagne made a new digest of it, in which he added many ordinances," &c. This writer further asserts (ibid. 273), that the clause which enacts, "That the crown of France shall not descend from the lance to the distaff," is really contained in the 62nd article of the Salique laws. But another opinion has been maintained, and seems to be supported by reasons of still greater force, in opposition to the foregoing, by an academician of equal judgment and knowledge (M. de Foncemagne), in his excellent memoir on this subject, inserted in the collection of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres (anno 1727, p. 490 et seq.); it is thereby proved that there is no one article in all the

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foundation of the kingdom and of the regal power. To me it appears, from the reflections I have made on this subject, that the situation of France, and the other advantages she has received from nature, are of themselves sufficient causes for that pre-eminence she has over all the other States of Europe; and that the Salique law, so far from contributing to these advantages, has often hindered them from being improved by those which a well-directed policy might have added to them. It is certain, that if a foreign prince, by marrying an heiress of France, should become our king, the first kings of this race would be considered either as Germans, Italians, Spaniards, or English; but as there is not the least reason to fear that he would transfer the seat of his empire from a city which every prince, if he had it in his power, would choose to reside in, this first foreign prince, or king, would be soon a naturalised Frenchman; and his posterity, from the first generation, would be wholly French. The house of Austria, established in Spain, and that of Stuart, placed on the throne of England, are evidences of this truth. The first foreign prince, or king, would likewise unite to our

Salique code which excludes daughters from the succession to the crown; and that the sixth paragraph of the 62nd title of this code, where it is said "that males alone can enjoy the Salique lands, and that females can have no share in the inheritance," ought only to be extended to the lands and inheritances of private persons; but that, besides this, there was a custom existing from time immemorial, even amongst the Germans, that daughters could not succeed to the crown; that Tacitus makes mention of this, &c. M. Foncemagne had before demonstrated in another memoir (ibid. anno 1726, p. 464 et seq.) that the kingdom of France was hereditary, but in the male line only, during the first race of our kings. The sentiments of these two writers, though opposite in themselves, become united against the principle laid down in this part of these Memoirs, which conveys to us an idea in every respect insupportable. Besides its direct tendency to destroy the pre-eminence this nation enjoys, it would involve the whole kingdom in an almost perpetual series of civil and foreign wars, from the cabals it would occasion in the choice of a successor to the crown; it would create a confusion in the laws, for which foreign kings would not always observe a proper deference, and be productive of many other inconveniences, of which the author undoubtedly was not aware; I cannot, therefore, believe but the whole is only an imaginary scheme of his secretaries, since none of the Duke of Sully's maxims are discoverable in it. On the actual existence of the Salique law, consult Venderlin, Eccard Baluze, &c., cited by the two academicians above named.

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crown his hereditary dominions, probably for ever. The Salique law, by forbidding (if I may use the expression) the kingdom of France from falling to the "distaff," has deprived it of one way of aggrandising itself; and a way so much the less to be despised, as force having no share in it, it affords no occasion or pretence for war.

Henry was much pleased with the answer I would have given to the Constable of Castile; he assured me that his sentiments were the same with mine, but that he had concealed them under fair words, that he might not give the Spaniard any suspicion of his designs.*

These designs might indeed suffer some prejudice from what passed at London between England and Spain, yet it did not take away a probability of carrying them into execution; things were not yet so far advanced as to attempt that immediately; in political affairs, time brings everything about, if its operations are waited for with prudence. In Cardinal Bufalo I found all that I had been so long seeking for on the part of Rome; nor did I scruple to acquaint him with what might possibly happen hereafter, being persuaded that the kingdom of Naples, which I allotted for his holiness's share, was a bribe sufficient to secure his secrecy, and even to make him solicitous for the success of it. This cardinal had always appeared to me to be a perfect politician; Spain, by seizing as she had lately done upon the fortresses of Porto-Hercole,

* John de Serre, speaking of the reception Henry IV. gave the constable, says: "The king sent the Duke of Montbazon, with a most honourable train of noblemen, to receive him at the gate of Paris." When Zamet gave an entertainment to the constable, the king came unawares, just as they were giving water to the constable to wash, saying, "I am come to sup with you." The constable being surprised, was going to put one knee to the ground, and present a napkin to him; but the king raised him up and said, "It is not your business to do the honours of this house, but to receive them; you are of the blood royal; and truly the king is related to the house of Velasco, which holds the office of constable by hereditary right, and which is conferred by the kings of Spain on those they think proper to elevate to the next degree below themselves." This ambassador had already had the honour of paying his respects to the king two years before, when he was going to Flanders. "He continued on his knees," says Matthieu, "somewhat longer than he expected, and thereupon said, the king received him like a king, and caressed him as a relation." (Vol. ii. book v. p. 605; Siri, p. 317.)

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Orbitello, Talamone, Piombino, Final, and Monaco, had opened the pope's eyes; and indeed, if the Romans had not considered these frequent innovations as the forerunners of their approaching slavery, they must have been wholly void of reflection. That Clement VIII. was of this opinion is sufficiently clear from the steps that he was observed to take; he was just such a pope as Henry had occasion for, and this prince studied to oblige him on every occasion; he gave him a convincing proof of this disposition by sending the Prince of Condé to his court, to be brought up and instructed in the Roman Catholic religion.

The princes of Germany had equally favourable impressions of Henry. His majesty commanded me to treat the Duke of Wurtemberg's ambassador with great respect, that he might make a friend of his master; and though he had some reason to be dissatisfied with the Elector Palatine, on account of the Duke of Bouillon, yet he paid without making any cavilling certain sums that still remained due to this elector, for which his ministers solicited, Henry only requiring that he should recal his son from Sedan. With respect to the United Provinces, though they were abandoned by England, yet as that crown did not turn her arms against them, this made no alteration in their affairs, the assistance they had received from the English having been very inconsiderable. After the loss of Ostend and Sluys, the States took a little repose; but it was weariness and their exhausted condition that made them submit to this respite, which was to continue but a short time. Thus the means of a diversion was secured, to be used whenever France should make attempts upon Spain.

I have slightly touched upon a difference between Spain and the Grisons,* which made noise enough this year to give occasion for many historical memoirs that were composed on this subject. This difference I am now going to explain.

The Swiss Cantons have for neighbours and allies the three leagues of the Grisons, the thirteen corporations of the

* See Matthieu (vol. ii. book iii.) and other historians, particularly Vittorio Siri, who treats this point of history very fully. (Mem. Recond. vol. i. p. 369 et seq.)

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Upper and Lower Valais, consisting of fifty-four parishes, of which the bishop appointed by them is lord; St. Gall, Geneva, Neufchâtel, Baden, and other cities imperial and not imperial, which submitted to the Swiss, on condition that their privileges should be preserved: these cities are comprehended in nine bailiwicks.

The Grisons, of whom we speak at present, inhabit the Alps; and that which is called the Valtoline, which is a valley, or rather a kind of large ditch, lying between the foot of the Alps belonging to Italy, and those on the other side of it; for though its length be thirty leagues or thereabouts, it is not more than one league broad, where its breadth is greatest, from the Tyrol to the Lake of Como. All the ground of this valley is watered by the Adda, which runs quite through it, and being increased by the torrents it receives in its passage, is but little less than the Marne, when it discharges itself into the Lake of Como; it contains about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and is very fruitful in grain, vines, fruit-trees, and pasturage; it is bounded on the east by the earldom of Tyrol, to which it is contiguous, but the passages are both narrow and difficult; on the south by Brescia and Bergamo, dependencies on the republic of Venice; the chain of mountains which separates it from those two cities is so steep, and the ground so hard, that it is wholly inaccessible on that side except by two passages, from Tiron into Bressan, and from Morben into Bergamasco; a like chain of mountains, inhabited by the Grisons, bounds it on the north. The disposition of this place is such, that there are no passages to enter Italy from those countries which lie to the north of it, but those that lead into this valley, which to the west terminates in a plain in the duchy of Milan, in which runs the Lake of Como, between the Milanese and the Valtoline. This is the place we are about to speak of.

About six hundred paces from the Lake of Como, Spain had lately built a fort called the Fort of Fuentes (from the name of him who was appointed to command it), upon a rock two hundred feet in height, which commanded the whole extent of ground which separates the Milanese from the Valtoline, and which is already but too difficult to pass, from the bogs and miry fields. Upon the shore of the lake, which in this place is not above two or three hundred paces in breadth,

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another fort was built over against the first, but not near so large; and to close up this passage completely, deep trenches were dug in the space between the bottom of these mountains and the lake. The fortifications of these two castles were very well contrived, being rendered pointed and angular, to suit the form of the rock, which has this further advantage, that no cannon from any of the neighbouring places can take a direct aim at it.

It was not likely that the Grisons could view with indifference such an enterprise; for although the Spaniards appeared, or feigned, to have no thought of these people in building this new work, and, to show that they had no design upon any part that did not belong to them, caused some trenches which had been carried too far to be filled up; yet it was but too apparent that their view was to endeavour one day to join the States of Italy and Germany, by invading the Valtoline; and till then, to put an obstacle in this place to the passage of those beyond the Alps into Italy, to cut off all communication between the Swiss and Grisons and the French, their allies, with the republic of Venice; in a word, to reduce the Grisons to capitulate with them and acknowledge them for their masters.

Spain had already given the Grisons some proofs of this last design. The Protestant party had hitherto been most powerful in the three Leagues, being established in the most considerable canton, and embraced by persons of the greatest riches and distinction among them; these were firmly attached to France, and were mortal enemies to Spain: but the differences of religion had as yet given rise to no misunderstanding among these people, because they were sensible their strength consisted in being firmly united: the Spaniards, however, found means to break this union, by sending their usual emissaries, the Jesuits and Capuchins, into those cantons. These fathers, by persuasions, promises, and bribes, easily succeeded in their design of setting the two parties at variance with each other; and gave the Catholics as great a disgust to the form of government established by their countrymen as aversion to the religion they professed.

Their hatred began first to show itself in the result of the debates in the assembly of Catholics, which was held at

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Baden, and which, for the first time, was directly contrary to that of the Protestants, who held a separate one at Arau at the same time. Some demanded that those persons who had embezzled the money of the republic should be prosecuted, and arrêts issued against them; others openly supported those persons; but the Catholic party becoming, at length, the strongest, they proceeded to such extremities with the Protestants as to banish them entirely into some little cantons, under pretence that they intended to deliver their country up to France. This was a thing which France hardly thought of; but she could not be indifferent to what passed there, any more than the republic of Venice, who took an equal interest in the fate of these people. The Sieur Pascal had been long our ambassador to them, and the Grisons appeared so well satisfied with him that they desired they might have just such another; and as, while these good intentions continued, they had also requested that the ambassador might be one capable of teaching them the art of war, we sent De Vic, with orders to him and Canaye, who resided at Venice in the same quality, to act always in concert with each other.

The best and shortest method we could have taken was to support the Leagues in hindering by force the building of the Fort of Fuentes, or at least to furnish them with the means of building one on their side, which would have rendered it useless. They had thought of this themselves, and it would not have been a new thing if his majesty had given some money to these people; but, indeed, the Grisons had greatly cooled the zeal of their friends for their interests; they were so far from expressing any gratitude to his majesty for the pensions he distributed amongst them, that they made no other return but complaints of their being injudiciously bestowed, and that this distribution was not referred to their ministers.

The Venetians were alike discontented with them upon other accounts, which Canaye communicated to De Vic, and it was highly probable that the Swiss would serve them no more with their accustomed good-will. The latter had allowed themselves to be allured by the gracious reception their ambassador had met with at Milan; and no one, on the

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other hand, doubted but the five cantons of Lucerne, Schwitz, Zug, Uri, and Unterwalt would renew their alliance with the Milanese.

In opposition to all this the liberty of the Grisons appeared to every interested party a matter which ought not to be neglected; nor could the Spaniards hope as yet to complete their design of hoodwinking the eyes of the Helvetic senate, though they supposed it not greatly illuminated with true political principles. In a word, it was at the diet appointed to meet at Coire, June 12, that these great efforts were to make their appearance; and each respective party, who expected the clearing of the whole affair in question, took care to depute a representative worthy to be trusted. Alphonso Cazal came thither in the behalf of Count Fuentes: I, by the means of Montmartin, sent letters from his majesty to De Vic, which, however, happened never to be produced in public, because Canaye declared that the State of Venice, with regard to the Grisons, held sentiments very different from those of the king; and it was a principle inculcated on all our ambassadors to unite consistently in the same demands. The French and Venetian ambassadors contented themselves with carrying on their point behind the scene, nor did they hardly ever appear to act: their seeming inactivity gave great hopes to Count Fuentes; yet all the intrigues and movements of Alphonso Cazal, in conjunction with him, could not prevent his party from miscarrying. The result of the diet was that the Leagues* would bear no mention of a treaty with Spain except the fortress of Fuentes were previously razed, communication and commerce were rendered free and open; in a word, except all things were reduced to their ancient situation. The alliance with France received at the same diet a new confirmation; nevertheless, a great distance of time was required to pass from such resolutions to actual effects, and the Spaniards had many subterfuges to recur to by way of amusing the Grisons. Montmartin did not return thence till he had maturely considered every point that had given rise to debate, taking a draught at the same time, by my order, both of the fortress and the dis-

* When two or more cantons unite in one common cause it is called a League.

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trict around it. I have framed this article upon his representation and memoirs.

A dispute of the same nature with the above, but in which his majesty was immediately concerned, arose this year, on account of the bridge of Avignon. This famous bridge was falling into decay for want of some repairs which had a long time been necessary. This delay was occasioned by the particular situation of affairs in France, which left no time for the discussion of a question between the King of France and the pope, without which these repairs could not be undertaken. The question was this; the pope, in quality of proprietor of Avignon, claimed likewise the proprietorship of this bridge, of the toll and passage of the Rhône between Avignon and Villeneuve, and consequently of all the privileges annexed to these passes;* therefore the repairing of this bridge was deferred till it was decided to which of the two, his majesty or the pope, it belonged to do it. The king being desirous that this question should be decided once for all, and, falling entirely under my cognisance, it was referred to me, which affords me an opportunity of explaining it to the public.

The law received in France has, at no time, granted any claim upon the waters and course of the Rhône to its borderers, though sovereign princes; for of this rank some of them have been, as the Prince Dauphin, the Duke of Savoy, the Count of Provence, and the Prince of Orange. The question was reduced to this point, namely, whether the pope, who is one of the borderers, has any right to be excepted from this general rule by any particular concession.

To decide this point, I caused the archives of the monarchy, the ancient rights of inheritance, the registers of the seneschal jurisdiction of Nismes, and all the charters of the province to be consulted. I sent commissioners of probity and understanding to the place; and the result of these laborious inquiries was, that the regulations by which rivers are divided between the borderers have no relation to the King of France, and also that he enjoyed a double right with respect to the Rhône, possessing solely, as sovereign, its bed, the old

* Cardinal d'Ossat speaks of it in a manner greatly in favour of the pope in his letter to M. de Villeroy, of the 2nd of June, 1603.

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and new channel, with all the rights annexed to them. Among the provinces through which this river runs, Languedoc has this claim most incontestably established, being an ancient fief of the crown, which has never been separated from it, and the Counts of Toulouse have always held it in this quality. In this it is different from Dauphiny and Provence, which are acquisitions to the crown: but neither this reason, nor another equally strong—the possibility that the provinces of Dauphiny and Provence might be alienated for an appanage or a portion—could hinder them from being comprehended in the same law with the Rhône, by the right of *regale*, which our kings could not be deprived of. A great number of edicts which were issued in the mean time in their favour, against the borderers on the Rhône, confirmed this right; and the treaty which was after the last war concluded with the Duke of Savoy, established it upon a solid foundation. The doubt concerning the pope's interest in Avignon arose from this:

A fund of four thousand livres was formerly set aside by the kings of France, for making repairs in this bridge. This fund was afterwards relinquished to an order of monks, who made a vow to assist all poor travellers, and called themselves "the Brothers which serve the hospital at the bridge of Avignon," because that hospital joins to the bridge: they were likewise invested with the tolls, which were to come to the king, on their binding themselves to keep the bridge always in repair. These rectors of the bridge enjoyed a long time the revenues and tolls, but took no care to perform the obligations they had entered into. At length the first fund was dissipated and lost, no one knew how; during which time the officers of his holiness made several different attempts to get possession of the bridge and its rights: and the best way to effect this, in their opinion, was to make a voluntary offer of being at all the expense of the necessary repairs: they several times attempted to begin the work; but although his majesty's council did not act with all the spirit they ought to have done upon this step of usurpation, the candidates, however, were always contradicted, and their demands rejected. From all these proofs, his majesty's claim was ascertained.

I caused a definitive arrêt to be issued, which decided this

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difference. By this arrêt, the Rhône and its isles, its ports, tolls, rights, and dependencies, particularly the bridge of Avignon, were declared to belong solely to the king, by the regal rights of the demesne, and the patrimony of the crown. In consequence of this arrêt, his majesty ordered the repairs of the bridge to be begun, and measures to be taken to recover the first funds, that had been misapplied and lost: and thus was this affair ended, in which the Duke of Savoy was almost as much concerned as the pope.

His majesty also made an acquisition of the earldom of St. Pol, one of the appanages of the Count of Soissons. This prince being plunged in debt, determined to sell this earldom to satisfy his creditors, who were very pressing for payment: he thought, no doubt, that, after the birth of a son, of which his wife was lately delivered, he ought not to live any longer in a dissipation of his fortunes: he received, with his usual affectation of stoicism, the compliments his majesty sent him upon the birth of his son; and afterwards sent Guillousaire to the king, with the offer of his earldom of St. Pol. Henry, in this acquisition, first considered his inclinations, and afterwards the inconvenience of doing homage for it, if it passed into the hands of any foreign prince; he therefore heard the count's proposal favourably, and till they could agree upon the price, advanced him a considerable sum of money to free him from the importunity of his creditors.

His majesty, who had not yet mentioned this affair to me, wrote to the Count of Soissons, and desired him to apply to Caumartin and myself, to whom he intended to entrust the management of this purchase; and wrote to me also, to know my opinion of it. I approved of it entirely, and used my utmost endeavours to serve the Count of Soissons; but I found it necessary to give great attention to the form in which the purchase was to be made. The affair being protracted to some length, I set out on my journey to Poitou: Henry in the mean time, listening only to his impatience, and being persuaded that there was no danger in bringing the affair to a speedy conclusion, referred it to Messieurs de Bellièvre, Villeroy, Sillery, and Maisses, who settled all matters with the Count of Soissons by a bargain of exchange. At my return, the king acquainted me with what was done; and seeing me greatly astonished at his precipitation, inquired

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the cause, reproaching me at the same time with the little inclination I discovered for making so fine an acquisition to the crown, which had, from my ancestors, fallen into the possession of the Count of Soissons: it was for this very reason that I knew more of the matter than any other person, and I excused myself in the following manner to his majesty.

From the time that this earldom had been possessed by the counts of the same name, it had been the subject of many debates whether it should be held of the county of Boulogne, or the county of Artois; that is to say, of France or Spain. This dispute being of the number of those which it is not easy to decide, it was agreed to in the last treaties made by Francis I. and Henry II. with the kings of Spain, that till the question could be decided, the lords of St. Pol should be at liberty to hold it of either of those counties which they should prefer. The succeeding counts of St. Pol chose to do homage for it to the county of Artois; and, by this preference, gave Spain a claim which might furnish a sufficient pretence for rekindling the war, as soon as the King of France, the possessor of this fief, should declare that he would hold it for the future of the Count of Boulogne, which was himself, for he could not without a kind of dishonour do otherwise. It would have been a melancholy thing to see the war rekindled for a trifle of this nature, and shameful to avoid it by submitting to do homage to a crown which owed it to France. The king was convinced by my arguments; and the remedy was, to break the first contract and sign a second in the name of a third person; and his majesty was not to declare himself till he could do it without any injury to his dignity.

This affair was concluded at Fontainebleau, where the king made a long stay this year. He sent for the Dauphin and the rest of the children from St. Germain. It was his first design that the Dauphin should not pass through Paris in this journey, but he altered it upon some representations which I made him. The children of France, with Madame de Montglat, their governess, passed through Paris on their way to St. Cloud, and came to Fontainebleau by Savigny.

One of his majesty's natural sons, who was called Alexander and had the title of Monsieur, was received into the

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order of Malta, in compliance with the king's inclinations.* He gave orders, during his stay at Fontainebleau, for his buildings to be begun. The expenses of this year were not lessened, but increased by the addition of those sums laid out on the buildings destined for the new manufactures. My part was to obey, and I did it in silence, but with deep regret. I only remember, that, seeing at the same time a great number of religious orders † established in France by the pope's commission, I quoted to his majesty the examples of Charlemagne for the first, and the Romans for the second.

Mahomet III. dying of the plague, Achmet his son, who succeeded him at fourteen years of age, was obliged to appease the murmurs of the people against a bad government by banishing his grandmother, who was the cause of it. Sinan Basha, the counsellor of this princess, was cited to give an account of his conduct; but, instead of obeying this order, he fled. Persia, being then at war with the Porte, took advantage of these disorders to seize certain towns. The Sieur de Salignac was then our ambassador at the Porte.

* This ceremony was performed in the church of the Temple, in the presence of the legate and ambassadors. The young prince not being able to pronounce the words of the vows, Henry IV. hastily descended from his throne and pronounced them for him to the grand prior, promising that the prince should ratify them when he should be sixteen years of age. (De Thou, book cxxxii.)

† Politicians have always made a great outcry against the too great increase of religious orders, and the excessive number of monks in this kingdom. If our kings and our ministers of the greatest abilities have not followed this maxim, it was not owing to their not allowing the force of these reasons, but to their thinking it their duty to give religion the preference to politics; since, if it be true that monks are useless to the State, it is equally incontestable that religion would suffer by their suppression. "The man must, therefore, be either wicked or blind," says Cardinal de Richelieu, whose evidence on this subject is less liable to suspicion than M. de Sully's, "who does not see and acknowledge that the religious orders are not only useful, but even necessary; as, on the other hand, nothing but too indiscreet a zeal can prevent one from perceiving that an excess of them is not only inconvenient, but may be even increased to such a degree as to become destructive. What is done for the service of the State is done for the service of God, who is the basis and foundation of it; to reform the religious houses already established, and to stop the too great increase of new foundations, are two things pleasing to God, who desires regularity and order in all things." (Political Testament, part i. chap. ii. § 8.)

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BOOK XX.

[1605.]

Conclusion of the process against the Counts of Auvergne and Entragues—Complaisance and weakness of Henry IV. for the Marchioness of Verneuil—The Jesuits procure the demolition of the pyramid—Great dispute between Rosny and Father Cotton on the subject of the college of Poictiers—He defends himself against the calumnies of his enemies—His reconciliation with Father Cotton—He quarrels with the Duke of Epernon and Grillon—Their reconciliation—Instances of the fantastical humour of Grillon—New calumnies against Rosny, by which he is in danger of being disgraced—An affecting conversation with Henry, in which they are reconciled—An interesting detail of this whole affair—Another attempt of Rosny's enemies to ruin him—Marriage of his daughter with the Duke of Rohan—Henry refuses the Duke of Rohan the lieutenancy of St. Jean d'Angély—Further favours refused or granted by the king to Rosny—The king's design of marrying Mademoiselle de Melun to the Marquis of Cœuvres.

The process carried on in the parliament against the Counts of Auvergne and Entragues and the Marchioness of Verneuil, terminated in an arrêt issued the beginning of this year, by which the two counts were condemned to lose their heads, and the marchioness to be shut up, during the rest of her life, in a cloister. I received the first news of this from the king, who sent for me to acquaint me with the sentence; and afterwards, drawing me aside to the balcony of the first gallery in the Louvre, asked me what impression I thought this treatment would make on the mind of his mistress. I asked his majesty, in my turn, whether, in proposing this question, he wished that I should tell him my sentiments freely. "Yes, yes," replied Henry, "do not be apprehensive that I shall be offended; I have been long accustomed to your freedoms." I then told him that he himself could answer this question better than any other person; for if he gave the marchioness reason to believe that

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he was wholly cured of his passion and animated with a just indignation against her, he would see her have recourse to submission, to prayers and tears, to move him; but if, on the contrary, he suffered her to suspect that he had acted only under the impression of a mere love-quarrel, she would not recede from her former insolence of behaviour.

I afterwards frankly confessed to Henry, that, whichsoever of these two parts should be taken by Madame de Verneuil, I was persuaded the consequence would be still the same for many reasons, among which his natural clemency and his consideration for the children he had by his mistress, did not seem to be the least. "I would have you visit her," said his majesty to me; "I want to know what she will say to you, and if she will not employ you as an intercessor for her to me." I entreated his majesty, with the utmost earnestness, to dispense with me both as to the visit and the intercession. I was truly weary of acting a part which had never produced any effect; and I was unwilling to lose entirely the good opinion of the queen, to whom, notwithstanding I had always supported her interest against her rival, I had been represented as an artful incendiary, and the venal spy and flatterer of Henry. I had proofs that such insinuations had been given the queen more than a month since: I told the king so, and named three persons to him who had been the authors of them; and represented to him that there wanted only this step which he required me to take, to deprive me hereafter of all means of serving him with this princess, on occasions which he was sensible recurred but too frequently. Henry contested this point with me a long while, but I prevailed at length, and left to another those infallible means of making court to a prince, but for which I ever had the strongest dislike; and if I still took any part in the affair, it was only to prevent the conclusion of it from being as shameful for Henry as I foresaw it was likely to be.

This prince did not want courtiers conformable to his taste; and here the gross servility of a court was fully displayed. As soon as it was perceived that the king could neither disengage himself from his mistress, nor rule the queen, this crowd of voluntary slaves to the passions of the sovereign accommodated their actions, words, and even the air of their countenances, to this disposition: no one dared to contradict,

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either the queen or the marchioness, and only feigned to do so when the nature of their commission required it; they but half served his anger, that they might always have their justification ready for both sides. Sigogne had been sent to me by his majesty with a very severe order concerning the marchioness, conceived in the strongest terms: he did not scruple to suppress one half of it; and, what is indeed astonishing, Henry discovered that he did so, told me of it, and yet continued to make use of him! If this prince carried weakness to an extravagant length, his courtiers pushed their flattery still further; it was never better known to what degree of ingenuity, and at the same time of servility, meanness, and wickedness, it could attain.

No one was deceived as to the manner in which Henry treated the Marchioness of Verneuil; but it was matter of general surprise to find that the lenity shown her extended to the two other criminals, whom the public voice had already condemned to the same punishment which Marshal Biron had suffered: the Count of Auvergne's sentence* was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Bastille, where, for once, he had leisure to grow weary† of confinement; that of the lady's father, into a banishment to his own estates: and as for her, she had a full pardon,‡ and even dictated the conditions herself.

* "The king changed this punishment," says Bassompierre, "to an imprisonment for life, partly in consideration of Madame d'Angoulême, who most earnestly begged it of him, but more for a reason he gives us, which is, that the late king, Henry III., his predecessor, had, on his death-bed, recommended only the Count of Auvergne and M. le Grand to his favour; and he would therefore not have it said that he put the man to death who had been so affectionately recommended to him by the person from whom he had received the kingdom." (Vol. i. p. 165.) But neither M. de Sully nor Henry IV. himself, when conversing with his minister on this subject, makes the least mention of this motive.

† He came out of his prison in the next reign. He was seventy-one years of age when, in 1644, he took for his second wife Mademoiselle de Nargonne; and, as this lady did not die till 1713, aged ninety-two years, it made a kind of chronological paradox, that a daughter-in-law should die a hundred and forty years after her father-in-law.

‡ "The king," says Pèrefixe, "permitted the marchioness to retire to Verneuil, and seven months having passed without the attorney-general finding any evidence against her, by the king's order she was declared guiltless of the crime whereof she was accused." He also

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The affair between the king and the marchioness could not be terminated in this manner, without creating new quarrels between himself and the queen, to whom this last instance of tenderness and consideration in the king her husband for his faithless mistress afforded sufficient matter for rage and exclamation: it was absolutely necessary she should be appeased, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to me on this occasion. No labour, no fatigue was equal to this; every moment there were new expressions to explain, new actions to justify, new interests to conciliate; it was the business of the night as well as the day to compose these differences; no sooner did a calm appear, than a storm arose immediately after, which brought everything back to its former state. At my return from the Limousin, at the end of the year, I found more unhappiness at Fontainebleau than there had ever been before: what could be done, in an evil so irremediable, than to deplore it in silence? and this was the method I pursued. I collected all the letters the king had written to me upon this subject, and suffered none to remain in the hands of my secretaries, from whom I concealed, for the future, what the king imparted to me in confidence, whatever solicitations they might make me. One of these letters of most consequence I snatched from a secretary of mine, who had begun to read it in a little summer-house, where I sent him to search for some papers. I act upon the same plan at present with the public, to whom I do not communicate all these little quarrels, which they would find a needless repetition of disputes, reproaches, jealousies, and violent designs, of which the reader is, I believe, already sufficiently weary.

From the disposition the Count of Auvergne was known to be of, it was believed he would not be very easy under his confinement in the Bastille, nor D'Entragues relish the inactive life he was compelled to in spite of himself. It was discovered, six months afterwards, that the count had concerted with his father-in-law, who apparently found the secret of getting intelligence even in his prison, the means

says the "Mercure François," "dispensed with her personal attendance on the parliament to get her letters of pardon registered, which were allowed by the parliament on the 6th of September." (See the particulars of this process in M. de Thou, an. 1605; Siri, ibid. p. 299; and other historians.)

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of escaping from the Bastille. It was a rope-maker who gave information of this design, and supported his evidence with so many proofs, that, upon his report, the grand prevôt, searching the wood of Malesherbes, found the cords, pulleys, and other engines with which the projected escape was to be effected; for which D'Entragues was afterwards arrested, and obliged to go through an examination at his own house. He alleged that he was not obliged to answer the grand prevôt; there was a necessity, therefore, for forcing him to it by a special commission, which his majesty sent for that purpose from the province where he then was.

In the mean time, D'Entragues composed a kind of case, written and signed by his own hand, to justify his proceedings, and expected that this would acquit him. This piece, for its artful turn, and the specious manner in which he glossed over his conduct, was well worthy of its author; yet, with all his subtilty of reasoning, he could not clear himself of the principal charge, nor explain to his advantage the meaning of the cords and machines found in the woods of Malesherbes. He defended himself much worse when, notwithstanding this paper, he found himself obliged to go through an examination: he maintained, with great obstinacy, that no bad intention could be proved against him by the discovery of those cords and pulleys. The grand prevôt omitted no part of his duty upon this occasion; he took care to keep all the domestics of D'Entragues separate, that they might have no opportunity to consult either with their master or with one another. But notwithstanding the rage Henry appeared to be in, yet, through the whole procedure against the criminal, something so favourable was perceived, that he had no great reason to be apprehensive, although the rope-maker furnished all the proofs that were necessary to convict him, and heavily accused, among others, a man named Giez: yet they chose to believe the accused person, upon his bare word, that he was absolutely ignorant of everything; and he was not so much as imprisoned. I was at my government while this affair was in agitation, but sent orders from thence to my lieutenant in the Bastille, to confine the Count of Auvergne more closely than ever; which was all that this plot produced.

[I proceed now to the conclusion of another affair, which

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was begun and almost finished during the preceding year; this was the entire restoration of the Jesuits. These fathers, whatever instances of kindness they received from the king, thought nothing was granted while the pyramid* raised upon the foundation of Chatel's house still remained. His majesty, persecuted with prayers and entreaties upon this article, consented at last that it should be referred to his council. I thought, and several others were of the same opinion, that the society had no reason to complain of ill-treatment, if the council came to no other resolution about it than to erase the inscription upon this pillar, which was indeed too severe: but they knew so well how to gain over the greatest part of those who composed the council to their side, that they obtained an arrêt such as they desired.†]

* This pyramid, about twenty feet high, and tolerably well built, stood opposite the palace, there being only the street between them; over the pedestal, on each of its four sides, was a plate of black marble, having the arrêt of the parliament (before mentioned in speaking of the process against John Chatel) engraven on them, with some inscriptions, conceived in terms the most injurious to the Jesuits. We do not think it necessary to recite these inscriptions, which are preserved in the Memoirs of the League, vol. vi.; D'Aubigné, vol. iii. book iv. chap. iv.; the Royal MSS., vol. 9033, where the French translation of them, made at that time, may also be seen, as well as in divers other writings. M. de Thou's works and the "Mercure François," which may also be consulted touching the demolition of this pyramid (anno 1605), agree[1] with M. de Sully, that it became a kind of justice to deface these inscriptions when the Jesuits were restored, the two arrêts being contradictory to each other; but they also observe that the destruction of it occasioned a violent outcry, it being thrown down at noon-day, in the month of May, by the lieutenant-civil, sent for that purpose by the king, and a fountain was built in its place. "The order for it," says Matthieu (vol. ii. book iii. p. 683), "was directed to M. de Sully, as surveyor-general. The most valuable of the statues belonging to it were carried to the grottos of St. Germain." [A representation of this pyramid was engraved by Jean le Clerc, engraver to the king; but the impressions of it were so carefully bought up by the Jesuits and destroyed, that they are rarely to be met with, except in the collections of the curious. (See the "Supplément aux Mémoires de Sully," edition in 12mo, 1758.)—Ed.]

† This paragraph is enclosed within brackets because it is entirely the compiler's; there is nothing more said in the old Memoirs respecting this pyramid than that all the particulars relating to its demolition were left to the historian.—Ed.

[1] This is not true; De Thou, on the contrary, adduces many arguments for preserving the pyramid. (See lib. cxxxiv. n. 9.)—Ed.

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I cannot admit that my conduct on this occasion could merit the whole weight of the Jesuits' indignation: however, my ruin appeared to these fathers, and to the three especially who played the greatest game at the court, to be of such consequence to religion, the common cause, and their own particular interests, that it was resolved to effect it if possible.

With the three Jesuits, a like number of the lords of the court associated themselves, whom I shall name no more. All that was now necessary was to recal to their minds the former notions of the League, of which the name indeed, but not the spirit or the policy, was banished the court: they found no difficulty to increase their party considerably, in a very short time, with all the voluptuaries of the court, whose soft and effeminate lives, it was owned, I had censured with more imprudence than injustice. The Jesuits, by making themselves useful to their associates, drew great advantages from them; so that in a little time a great number of colleges were founded in many of the chief cities in the kingdom, and endowed with very considerable revenues.

They did not, however, succeed everywhere with equal facility; the people of Troyes, Rheims, and Langres did not receive the offers they made them of their services very favourably. They were obliged, therefore, to have recourse to letters from his majesty: the Fathers Cotton and Gauthier were employed to ask them of the king, in whom so many petitions, one after the other, sometimes occasioned a little reflection. He told them that he was very willing to gratify all their desires, but that he feared they would, at last, endanger the royal authority; he brought Poictiers for an example, where, notwithstanding the mandates they had obtained from him, they had laboured for two years ineffectually to procure a settlement in that city, though, at the same time, it had solicited that a royal college might be founded there. Father Cotton replied that nothing could be inferred from the behaviour of the inhabitants of Poictiers which could affect the other cities, because they would not be so unfortunate as to be opposed by persons so powerful, so respected in the province, nor even so much favoured by his majesty as their enemies of Poictiers were.

The king had not here any occasion for all that penetration on which he sometimes prided himself, which enabled

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him to discover by the gestures only, and the turn of the countenance of those who spoke to him, all that passed in their hearts.* He answered the father that he perfectly understood what he had else to say, but that it was a mere calumny, for which he had no other foundation than some reports that had been made him; for that having spoken to me himself of this matter before, I was so far from discovering such intentions as were attributed to me, that I had assured him I would raise no obstacles to their attempts, and that I would give them my assistance. "Ah! Sire," replied the father, "God keep me from offending in any manner those you love, and by whom you think yourself so faithfully served; I will love them and serve them myself: but if your majesty has any inclination to be convinced of the truth by incontestable proofs, nothing is more easy than to produce such as shall leave no doubt of the certainty of what I have had the honour to tell you." The king asked, with still greater earnestness, if he was sure he could prove what he had advanced; the father again affirmed it. "Well," said Henry, leaving him, "I will consider this matter." And he sent for me that instant.

As soon as I came to the Tuileries, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the Orangery, where, as we walked, he asked me, as if without any design, how the affair went on at Poictiers, concerning the Jesuits founding a college there. I replied that I was wholly ignorant of their proceedings, having resolved not to concern myself with them, for those considerations I had mentioned to his majesty. "Think well what you say," replied this prince, "for they would persuade me that it is you alone who prevent their establishment in that city." I assured him, with an oath, that I had never, directly or indirectly, opposed their settling there, nor even expressed the least dislike to it. "Well," said the king, "since it is so, take no notice of this matter to any one." On his entrance again into the Louvre he took Father Cotton aside. "Who has told you these idle tales of M. de Rosny?" said he; "they are absolutely false,

* Matthieu has observed the same thing of Henry IV. "He could form a judgment," says he, "of a man's actions and words from his look and manner." (Vol. ii. book iv. p. 807.)

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as I, indeed, suspected they were." "They will not be found so," replied the father; and for a proof of his assertion, told him that I had written several letters to the Bishop of Poictiers, the treasurers of France in that city, to Saint-Marthe, and others, with whom I could do anything, expressly ordering them to oppose the settling of the Jesuits there. He added, that he had seen these letters himself, and that they were in the hands of a man of strict honour, who had allowed him to read them. "Can you show me these letters?" said the king. "Yes, Sire," replied the Jesuit, "whenever your majesty pleases." The king, who till now had suspended his belief, could not for this once hinder himself from being influenced to my prejudice. "I will talk to you to-morrow," said he to the father, "and give you all the necessary orders upon this affair."

I came the next morning to the Tuileries at eight o'clock, the king having sent me orders to attend him very early: he talked to me of the usual despatches and the present affairs; then taking me again into the Orangery, I guessed immediately, by the very turn of his countenance, part of what he was going to say to me. "You know," said he, "how much I love you, but you likewise know how much I love truth and hate all insincerity; you have used it with me; and although I never conceal any of my secrets from you, you have dissembled with me in the answer you gave me to the question I asked you concerning the Jesuits. I am not offended at your conduct in that affair; as they never discovered any great friendship for you, it could not therefore be expected that you should become their advocate; but I am grieved to find that you are capable of dissimulation, you who profess to be a lover of truth and sincerity."

My astonishment was so great that I listened to the king in profound silence; at length, recovering myself, "Sire," said I, "this is one of the blackest impostures that ever was invented; the only favour I implore is that you will insist upon a full explanation of this matter. If the Jesuits can prove their accusation to be true, inflict what punishment you please upon me, I shall never complain; but if it is found to be false, suffer me, Sire, I most humbly implore you, to do myself public justice, that I may prevent such designs from being undertaken against me for the future; for

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if there is a necessity for my being continually employed in defending my conduct, it will be no longer possible for me to attend to state affairs, the number and weight of which are already more than I can well bear." "What!" interrupted the king, "have you not written anything against the Jesuits, and prevented their founding a college at Poictiers? Think a little, and refresh your memory, that you may not engage to maintain anything of which the contrary may be proved against you." "No, Sire," I replied, "I swear by my God and all my hopes of salvation, that what I say is true." "What malignant minds are these!" pursued the king, moved with a just indignation, "which can never cease to envy virtue, or be weary of their fruitless attempts to ruin those who are faithful to my service. Leave this affair to me," continued he; "I will search it to the bottom, and discover, if possible, both its source and its authors."

He left me at these words to go and hear mass at the convent of the Capuchins, where he knew he should find Father Cotton; and, calling him, renewed the discourse of the preceding days, and asked for the letters which he said he had seen. "Those letters, Sire," said the father, "are in the hands of a person of honour, and I will answer for the truth of what that person said, as well as that the letters he showed me are genuine." "It is enough," returned the king, "but go and bring them to me, that I may see them; I know his handwriting and his signature as well as my own, having received more than two thousand letters from him in my life." The father, perplexed by so unseasonable an order, endeavoured to elude it by appealing to his majesty's knowledge of his veracity, and his aversion to all kinds of falsehood. "I am willing to believe you," said this prince to him, "but I would also have others believe you, by showing them these letters; therefore do not fail," pursued he, in a severe tone, "to bring them to me, for I am determined to see them, that I may convict of malice and fraud those who are really guilty. Go, and return again immediately."

There was no reply to be made to an order so positive; the father retired with a low reverence; but the king expected him in vain all the remainder of that day: he apologised for it the next morning, on account of the absence of the person who was possessed of these letters. But there

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was a necessity to find another excuse for returning without them, which would cost the father much more. He told the king that this nobleman's valet-de-chambre had unfortunately thrown those letters into the fire with other papers. But for want of the letters he brought a thousand new assurances of the truth of what he had advanced. The king, however, was not disposed to pay himself with that sort of coin. "How!" said he, interrupting him in a rage, "have they burned these letters? This is not to be believed." And perceiving that Father Cotton, who was sensible this affair would not rest as it was, equivocated in his answers, and seemed desirous that nothing more should be said of it, he quitted him in disgust. "Rosny," said he, approaching, and taking me aside, "your letters have been burnt."

I came again to his majesty, to propose an expedient to him, which I thought would entirely silence my accuser; this was to prevail upon the king to write to the Bishop of Poictiers and the officers of that city to produce all the letters they had received from me, and to write to them myself in the clearest manner upon the subject. I carried with me all the originals of these letters, in which his majesty found nothing to take offence at; he ordered his secretaries to write those letters which were to be in his name immediately, and sent them to Poictiers in the same packet with mine, by a courier named Constant. Upon the receipt of these letters the bishop and the magistrates of the city sent the Sieur de la Parisière to give his majesty all the information he desired. La Parisière, in the name of all his fellow-citizens, attested, with regard to me, that they had always considered my letters as written with favourable intentions towards the Jesuits, and presented to the king all they had been able to collect.

Among a great number which related only to the affairs of the province, four were found in which the Jesuits were mentioned; three of these letters, directed to Saint-Marthe, the lieutenant-general, and to his brother, separately, and the office of the finances, were copies of each other; and after other matters were discussed, concluded with these words: "With regard to the Jesuits' college, I know not why you make so many difficulties about that, and persist in your solicitation for the royal college, of which you have written

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to me, since you know, as La Parisière has often told you from me, that you will never obtain of the king what is necessary for it, and that he absolutely commands the other should be allowed; it is your part, therefore, to act prudently, and do that with a good grace which in the end you will be obliged to do, whether willing or not: be it your care only, upon receiving them, to make such regulations as may not leave it in their power to disturb the tranquillity of the city or province, or make any alteration in that union maintained at present between the two religions, that the king may be served with duty and affection by all."

The fourth letter, addressed to the Bishop of Poictiers, is yet stronger; after some business and some compliments, which made up the first part of it, the king read these words: "I always doubted whether the Jesuits would find people as kind and charitable in actions as in words: for my own part, if the province is willing they should have a settlement in it, and that they will resolve to live quietly there, without embittering the minds of the people, or doing anything to disturb that harmony which at present subsists between the two religions, I should be glad to see them in my government, and will do them all the service I can; but if they foment divisions there, or give rise to any jealousies and distrusts, I had rather they were anywhere else."

The king's courier, as he passed through Paris, which his majesty had just quitted and set out for Fontainebleau, left for me a particular answer to the letter I had written to the Bishop of Poictiers, of which these are the contents: that Father Moussy, the Jesuit, had brought him a letter from Father Cotton, in which the latter mentioned certain letters, supposed to be written by me to him, against the establishment and honour of the society, and the complaints which this father, believing them to be true, had made of me to his majesty. The bishop added, that, after reading this letter, he had obliged Father Moussy to own that his brother had been greatly to blame to believe a matter of such consequence so lightly, and acted still more imprudently to write it, and bring it to the ears of the king: that Father Moussy had seen all the letters, and found nothing in them which could authorise such an accusation, and undertook to undeceive Father Cotton by acquainting him with what he had seen.

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The Bishop of Poictiers, who really believed the existence of this imaginary letter of accusation against me, which Father Cotton had told him, in his, had been sent from Poictiers, and who thought probably that it would do both myself and him service to discover the author of it, sent me word that he would use his utmost endeavours to find it out; and that he had been told the preceding day that it was signed "Guillaume," but that no person knew better than Father Cotton himself; for, although, as he was likewise informed, it was that father who had thrown this letter into the fire, yet he could not have forgotten the subscription of it: the bishop's letter is dated March 23, 1605. I showed it to Sillery, who set out for Panfou, from whence he went to Fontainebleau to make his report to his majesty; but the king ordered me to bring this letter to him at Fontainebleau, together with the copies of those which had been sent me from Poictiers. I perceived that this new proof of my sincerity had increased his esteem for me.

The next day the king sent for Richelieu and Pont-Courlai, and asked them if they knew who it was that had suggested to Father Cotton the complaints he had made against me, and whether they had any share in it. They replied, that very far from engaging themselves in the affair, they had earnestly advised Father Cotton never to mention to the king those letters, whether supposititious or written by some impostor under a feigned name; because that, if his majesty gave credit to my words in matters wherein my religion might render me suspected, he had much more reason to believe me rather than those idle reports received to my prejudice. The king answered that they must prevail upon me to use the same moderation in this business as they had advised Father Cotton to, and prevent, said he, all occasions of misunderstanding between my faithful servants, as well in political as ecclesiastical affairs. He permitted them, if they could not by any other means reconcile us to each other, to throw part of the blame upon himself.

I submitted with a good grace to this reconciliation. After the two agents had assured me Father Cotton had no intention to injure me, they entreated me to allow the father to wait on me and assure me of the truth himself. I consented, and they brought him the next day. This father told me

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that it was true he had complained of having a secret enemy who opposed the establishment of a college at Poictiers, but that he had no thought of me. However, his majesty had understood that he meant me, and made me believe so likewise; that although in this whole affair there was only a mistake, yet he was extremely afflicted that it had given me any disturbance, the remembrance of which he would endeavour to efface by the most faithful services. In this manner was an affair concluded which had given both parties a great deal of trouble.

It was probably in consequence of this reconciliation that Father Richeome of Bordeaux presented me, at the close of this year, by Father Cotton himself, a book of his writing, with a most flattering dedication to me: he takes notice, in this dedication, that, although this book could not be very agreeable to the professors of my religion (for it treated of the pilgrimage to Loretto), yet he had made no scruple to offer it me, and did not doubt of its being favourably received, on account of my attachment to the king (to whom, indeed, the highest eulogiums were given in it); to this motive he added a second, which was purely of his own invention, that he had been assured I felt in myself a strong disposition to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, a disposition which increased every day; and reminded me of a little present he had made me the preceding year, which was a book entitled "The Apologetic Remonstrance of the Jesuits to the King."* I told him, in my answer, that knowing myself to be capable of loving even my enemies, his society might from thence judge what were my sentiments concerning those who professed themselves my friends. I returned him compliments for compliments, wishes for wishes, and even book for book; for I sent him the "Journey to Jerusalem," in return for that to Loretto.

If any one doubts that these professions of esteem which were made me by the Jesuits were not sincere, let him suspend his judgment for a moment, and he will know what to ascribe them to. I will not omit any circumstances of the fact I am going to relate, as I do not imagine they will seem

* This is the last of that father's works against Antony Arnaud: he wrote many books with great success on behalf of his order.

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tedious to the reader, since they concern persons so distinguished at court as the Duke of Epernon, and Grillon,* colonel of a regiment of guards.

Grillon had at first the same unfavourable sentiments towards me with which almost all the courtiers were tainted; but after a little adventure which happened at the siege of Charbonnières during the war with Savoy, his friendship for me became stronger than his hatred had ever been. Grillon, at that time, was quartered at Aiguebelle, a little town at the bottom of a fort, where he commanded our foot, and often came to visit the quarter of the artillery where I was. He

* Louis Berto de Crillon, or Grillon, a gentleman of Avignon, as remarkable on account of the peculiarities in his temper as his intrepidity, which had procured him the name of *Dreadnought*. I find in the Life of the Duke of Epernon a story very proper to be related along with what the Duke of Sully tells us of this gentleman. "The Duke of Guise, to whom he had been sent after the reduction of Marseilles, having a mind to try his courage," says the historian, "agreed with some gentlemen to give a sudden alarm before Grillon's quarters, as if the enemy had been masters of the town; at the same time he ordered two horses to the door; and going up into Grillon's room, told him all was lost; that the enemy were masters of the port and town; that they had forced the guards, and broke and put to flight all that opposed them; that, finding it impossible to resist them any longer, he thought it was better for them to retreat than, by suffering themselves to be taken, add to the enemy's victory; that he had therefore ordered two horses to be brought, which were ready at the door; and desired he would make haste, for fear they should give the enemy time to surprise them. Grillon was asleep when the alarm was given, and was hardly awake whilst the Duke of Guise was saying this to him. However, without being at all disconcerted by so sudden an alarm, he called for his clothes and his arms, saying, They ought not, on too slight grounds, to give credit to all that was said of the enemy; and, even if the account should prove true, it was more becoming men of honour to die with their arms in their hands than to survive the loss of the place. The Duke of Guise not being able to prevail on him to change this resolution, followed him out of the room; but when they were got halfway down stairs, not being able to contain himself any longer, he burst out laughing, by which Grillon discovered the trick that had been played him. He thereupon assumed a look much sterner than when he only thought of going to fight, and, squeezing the Duke of Guise's hand, said to him, swearing at the same time (for he always began his discourse with the most horrible oaths), 'Young man, never make it a jest to try the courage of a man of honour; for by God! hadst thou made me betray any weakness, I would have plunged my dagger in thy heart;' and then left him without saying a word more." (Page 176.)

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happened one day to be with me in a meadow, from whence I was observing a ravelin which I wanted to have battered down, and myself and those who accompanied me were within reach of a battery, from whence the discharges began to be so frequent that I resolved to defer doing the business I was about till a more favourable opportunity, when we needed not uselessly to endanger our lives. "How! *morbleu*, my grand master," said Grillon to me, with an air and tone of voice peculiar to him, "are you afraid of guns in the company of Grillon? *Arnidieu!* since I am here they will not dare to come nigh us: let us go to those trees I see about two hundred paces from hence; we may reconnoitre the ravelin there with less danger." "Let us go then," replied I, smiling, "since we are trying who shall show himself most mad; but since you are the oldest, I would willingly allow you to be the wisest also." Probably I should have done better to have paid no attention to what he said; however, I took his hand, and led him so far beyond the trees he had pointed to, that the bullets began to whistle strongly about our ears. "*Arnidieu!*" said Grillon, "these rogues have no regard to the grand master's bâton, or the cross of the Holy Ghost, and may probably lame us; let us gain that range of trees and those hedges, which may shelter us; for, *par la corbleu*, you are an honest fellow, and worthy to be grand master: I will, during my whole life, be one of the most faithful of your servants; let us vow an inviolable friendship to each other: do you promise me yours?" I took his hand, which he held out to me in token of union, and from that moment he continued to love me with a greater affection than he had ever shown to any other person whatever, not even, as it was said, to the king himself; and this adventure, which had given rise to it, he talked of to every one.

By what means I regained the Duke of Epernon's friendship has been already mentioned. About the beginning of the year, he came to me, and desired that I would direct his appointments, as colonel of a regiment of guards, to be paid him in ready money. I represented to him that he had been paid already all he could with reason demand upon that account; and that what he further required was but a possession without a claim, or rather an usurpation, which his favour with Henry III. had given him an opportunity of

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committing (for this was a discovery I had lately made), and that I was resolved to cut it off for the future, unless he brought me an order from the king, by which this supplement was granted him in the manner of a gratuity. D'Epernon, offended at this discourse, complained to the king, and endeavoured to persuade him that I was become his enemy. His majesty, to undeceive him, reminded him of the council held at Blois, wherein I opposed the advice given by the Count of Soissons, to arrest him with Marshal Biron. This circumstance, which D'Epernon had never before been acquainted with, made a great impression upon his mind. "Do you assure me, Sire," said he to the king, "that it was from M. de Rosny I received this act of friendship?" "Yes, I assure you of it," replied this prince, "for I am not used to lie, especially in things of consequence."

D'Epernon left Fontainebleau the same day, and set out for Paris in a hired coach, having sent one of his own before to Essonne, where it was to wait for him: I had left Paris in the same manner, his majesty having sent for me to Fontainebleau. D'Epernon and I met each other in a place over against a chapel above Essonne; the duke ordered his coachman to stop, and called out to me, that he entreated I would give him an opportunity to say one word to me: we both alighted. "I have too long," said he, approaching me, "been under a great obligation to you, without paying you those acknowledgments you merit from me." He then repeated what the king had just told him, and in the transport of his gratitude loaded me with praises and assurances of the most inviolable friendship. I replied with my usual sincerity, that he was under no obligation to me on account of the circumstance he mentioned, since it was the business of every honest man to take the part of innocence, exclusive of all interest and views of any kind, and that hereafter he would be still better convinced that all my intentions with respect to him had been equitable, and more so than he had sometimes believed. This affair produced such a perfect good intelligence between us, that, eight days after, being upon the point of setting out for Guienne, D'Epernon made me a visit to request one of those little favours of me with which a man takes pleasure to oblige his friends.

The duke had been informed that some persons who were

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enemies to him earnestly solicited Grillon to resign his colonel's commission in favour of another whom he had likewise as little reason to love; and, knowing that Grillon was wholly governed by my advice, he entreated me to prevent his resigning this post till he returned from Guienne: and this I promised him. During D'Epernon's absence, his majesty was told some things to his disadvantage, which determined him to give the post to a man who was not so much devoted to the Duke of Epernon as Grillon: it was not with this view that the affair was proposed to Grillon on the part of the king, but because he, in reality, was not very diligent in the exercise of this employment, and was soon to take a journey to Provence, where his stay was likely to be very long. He was given to understand that it was for these two reasons his majesty wished he would dispose of this employment, and promised to procure him a good price for it.

Grillon, singular and fantastic to the last degree, and already a little distempered in his brain, only shook his head, without answering the first three times that they mentioned the king's intentions to him. He afterwards suspected that it was I whom the king had in view to succeed to his employment; and when he came to take leave of me, asked me if it was not so, making me at the same time many offers of service. It was with great difficulty that I could put this notion out of his head, and was obliged to tell him that I would not accept of this employment, although it should be given me for nothing. "How!" returned Grillon, immediately; "sure you do not think an employment which Grillon has possessed unworthy of you? *Arnibieu*, my grand master, you are very vain, for since I have filled it, it is worthy of the best of you." "I know," replied I, "that one Grillon is of more value than a thousand Rosnys; but I have other reasons which hinder me of thinking of it." "Oh, very well, that is enough," said he; and then, without my solicitation, engaged not to resign it till I should advise him to it, and then only to that person who should be agreeable to me: and from this time he would not give a serious answer to any of the proposals that were made him on this subject.

At length the king was obliged to talk to him himself; he sent for him, and repeated the same arguments which were used to him before, to prevail upon him to resign a post the

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duties of which were incompatible with the long stay he proposed to make in his native country, adding a thousand kind and obliging things upon the valour and services of Grillon. "By what I can understand, Sire," replied Grillon, "you want me to quit your service, and that I should become absolutely papistical; for you know I am born a subject to the pope." "Ah, no, Grillon," said his majesty, "that is not my intention:" then adding new reasons drawn from the nature of his employment, "So then, in good earnest," said Grillon to him again, "you would have me resign my employment; and since it is your desire, I will not do it, at least to the person for whom I hear it is designed."

This speech indeed was no great indication of a sound mind; he withdrew in a rage; but the king, who knew his humour, only laughed at him: he even took a resolution to speak to him no more of the matter, so little was this prince inclined to use any restraint to persons who had served him faithfully. But happening to mention this little extravagance of Grillon before Roquelaure, Zamet, Piles, Fortia, and some other captains of the regiment of guards, one of them said, that there were but two ways to render Grillon tractable, which were to employ D'Epernon in the affair, and to tell him that it was for me, and in my name, that he asked him for his post. The king replied, that he would never dispose of it at the solicitation of the Duke of Epernon; neither did he desire that I should accept of it: but that he believed I would not refuse to entreat Grillon to yield it to the person he had in view. His majesty did not name this person, but only added, that he was worthy of it by his abilities, and rich enough to give Grillon a good recompense for it. Henry then ordered Piles, Fortia, and Zamet to come to me, and propose it as a thing that would be very agreeable to him, but without owning that they had his orders for mentioning it.

At first, I made no other answer to these gentlemen than that I had private reasons for not meddling in the affair; but upon their pressing me to disclose these reasons, I informed them, with my usual sincerity, of the engagement I had entered into with the Duke of Epernon, which was, as I may say, the pledge of our reconciliation. When these words were related to the king, he was immediately seized

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with so violent a transport of rage against me, that, as he afterwards owned to me, he never remembered to have borne me so much ill-will before; doubtless the occasion of it would appear very slight, if I did not at the same time inform the reader that it was in this year, and at this very time, that my enemies had then actually given me the severest blow they had ever aimed against me, and had brought me, in reality, within an inch of my ruin, or at least of my dismissal from my employments, to the last of which I think I should have readily submitted. Libels, letters, informations, malicious insinuations, atrocious calumnies, all that envy could suggest most injurious and most horrid, had been practised, and still continued to be practised every day against me, all which I shall particularise hereafter: for the present, it is sufficient to say, that the poison had been so subtilly applied, that the king, although he had long been aware of the malice of my enemies, had not been able to avoid being tainted with it, and it had reached even to his heart.

I shall not here use the ordinary style of those who have suffered such trials, when they exclaim with so much vehemence against the ingratitude and injustice they have met with from princes; I always suspect that such outcries proceed either from great vanity, or great ignorance of the human heart. To make calumny against the absent successful, nothing more is requisite than to find the means of opening the mind to suspicion, and to those who, having everything to govern and direct, have likewise everything to foresee and to fear, innumerable arguments will occur to keep alive and justify this suspicion. How many appearances of fidelity are there, so well disguised that truth itself could hardly assume any other face, especially before kings, from whom one would imagine she delights to conceal herself! But are there not many ministers likewise, who, from being loyal and affectionate, have become traitors to their sovereigns? To all these considerations, Henry, on his side, added a too curious and too active research into all possible contingencies, wherein for the present or the future any danger to the State might be apprehended; and I, on my part, too little solicitude to lessen his suspicion, which was not so much the effect of indifference, as the mark of a conscience clear and irreproachable: it is not surprising, there-

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fore, that the artifices of my enemies had made so deep an impression on the mind of Henry. However, I have always, after this, laid it down as a maxim, that any sovereign who imagines such a conduct necessary to support his interests and authority, takes the direct method to ruin both, by lessening, himself, that respect and deference which he ought to oblige his subjects to show to those to whom he has confided those interests, and by whom that honour is maintained.

When the three men whom the king had employed in the affair of Grillon had acquainted him with what I had said, which had occasioned those transports of rage against me, Villeroy, Sillery, La Varenne, and Father Cotton came very seasonably for him to discharge this heavy burden. I had no reason to think that this accidental meeting was a favourable effect of the influence of my stars, for he repeated my words to them, and his own sentiments upon them, with the most violent emotions of rage. "How!" said he to them, perceiving that they made him no answer, "you are silent, you say not a word; but, by Heaven!" pursued he, "all this looks ill; for since fire and water mingle so well together (it was D'Epernon and myself whom he meant), there must be higher designs, at least on one side, than I could ever have imagined; but I shall take care to prevent them." It was absolutely in the power of those four persons, to whom the king addressed this discourse, to prevent these suspicions from going so far; one word only would have sufficed; but they took care not to say that word, but, on the contrary, upon the king's saying that while I continued faithful in my allegiance and the performance of my duty, I was the most useful servant he had, and that he should never cease to lament the loss of me, they, to add fuel to the fire, under a feigned solicitude to alleviate his majesty's disquiet, began to praise, with the utmost ardour, my great abilities in the management of affairs, the unwearied application I was capable of, and the active turn of my mind. From hence they inferred the great need which all the members of the State had of me, and the dependance which that necessarily introduced; they exaggerated the high credit I had acquired among foreigners, and with what ease I could put everything in motion without stirring out of my closet; praises which I

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neither merited in their good sense nor bad sense. Certainly, envy can assume every disguise, since it can oblige men not only to praise those whom they most abhor, but in their praises outdo flattery itself.

The four confidants had reason to applaud themselves for this last stroke of policy when they found they had not allayed the king's anger against me, but only to mix with it the strongest emotions of jealousy, distrust, and apprehension: that this was the state of his mind they were well assured, when he told them that, if I resigned myself up to the ambitious desire of becoming head of a party, my credit was so great and my friends so numerous that I was able to do the State more harm than Admiral Coligny had ever been able to do. My enemies now thought there was nothing more necessary to be done than to suffer those black suspicions to work in his mind, and wait the effect; accordingly, they took leave of the king, after having thus instilled the poison into his heart. Henry, in this state of mind, was no longer capable either of secrecy or art; he spoke of me publicly as of a rebel, and the whole court was immediately filled with the noise of my disgrace and the expectation of my approaching ruin.

I had likewise many friends in the court, who had, a long time before matters came to this point, informed me of all that was practised against me by my enemies, and of what was said by the king. I am not sure whether it would not have been more prudent to act upon this occasion as I had already done on many others of the same nature, in which Henry of himself returned from his suspicions and disgusts to his usual manner of thinking with regard to me. It is a mortifying thing for innocence to be perpetually employed in supporting itself by proofs, and to exaggerate its merit by praises: a man who thinks he ought to owe his elevation to virtue alone feels an honest shame at being obliged to secure that elevation by methods less worthy; yet it is evident on many occasions that if virtue is not assisted by chance and industry, her own strength is not sufficient to protect her from the hatred and even from the contempt of the public. So many repeated advices as I received determined me at length to write a letter to the king. His majesty had not yet fixed, for any considerable time, in any of his palaces, but

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had consumed the months of January and February in journeys to St. Germain (where his children were) and Monceaux, staying but a short time at each place; and, on the 13th of March, the day on which my letter was dated, he was at Chantilly. I shall not transcribe this letter here, as I have no crime to efface, nor any particular action to justify; it contained only general assurances of innocence and arguments, simple indeed and unstudied, but which, on that very account, ought to have had the more weight.

I observed to his majesty that, during twenty-two of the thirty-three years which I had been in his service, the favours I had received from him had been but very small, although I had been at considerable expenses; yet since that consideration, the lowness of my fortunes, and the prospect of a decent establishment elsewhere, which might have given some excuse for my abandoning him, could not prevail upon me to do so, it was not credible I should do so now, when I saw myself so generously rewarded, when my fortune could only increase, and when so many favours, which I every year received from my king in a manner wholly obliging, attached me no less to his person than my offices and employments. It was not probable, therefore, I said, that I should hazard the being deprived of one-half of these advantages by the hand which had heaped them on me, and of the rest by the reverses of fortune; that I defied all my enemies to charge me with the actual commission of any crimes of which I could not clear myself in two words, whenever his majesty informed me of it; that all those accusations were no more than mere possibilities, upon which he was too wise and too just to condemn any person, under whatever colour of supposition, probability, imputation, calumny, or even of praise, they might be presented to him: but setting all this aside, I entreated him not to conclude me guilty but upon solid proofs; that I should wait without fear the efforts of my enemies, and submit without repugnance to all the rigour of the law and all the effects of his anger, if the smallest crime could be proved against me, being most certain that if, in the great number of employments with which I was invested, he could charge me with the commission of any fault, it would not be where my honour or duty was concerned, but an effect of my ignorance or incapacity; in which case I was

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ready, at his least command, to resign all my offices into his hands, choosing rather the obscurity of a private life with his favour than the splendour of the highest dignities with his hatred.

I was convinced by the answer which his majesty sent me that the informations I had received were not false; he addressed me in it with the title of cousin instead of friend: though short, it was not written with his own hand; a kind of circumspection and reserve, which was not usual with him, ran through it, and not one word of consolation found a place; the king only observed to me coldly, and in few words, that it was my business to suffer the world to talk of me as it pleased, and continue to serve him well. I pretended, however, to be satisfied with this letter, and, after having done all that was necessary upon this occasion, conscious of my own innocence, I was persuaded that eagerness and precipitation did not become me; I therefore waited till his majesty was willing to enter into a discussion of the affair with me, and continued to act as usual.

The king, after staying at Chantilly six or seven days, quitted it to return to Paris, where his presence was necessary: he began to have a fondness for the former, from whence also he wrote to me that he was much better in health (as I should perceive by his countenance as soon as I saw him); that he ate and slept well there, never rising before seven o'clock, though he went to bed at ten or eleven. I expected, at least, that he would mention my letter to me when he returned to Paris, but I was mistaken; he took not the smallest notice of it, although he stayed there eight days, and four mornings successively conferred with me on many different affairs as we walked in the Tuileries: Villeroy and Sillery, indeed, were present. After giving us all the necessary orders, he set out for Fontainebleau, still keeping up the same reserve in all the letters he wrote me from thence, during the remainder of this month, as well upon general as private affairs.

It was here, as I observed a little before, that they supplied all that was yet wanting to make his majesty resolve my ruin; and, as he stayed there during the whole of the months of April and May, they had time sufficient to effect their purpose, and brought him to the point we have already seen.

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Calumny is like fire, which, the fiercer it burns, is extinguished the sooner, if no more fuel be added to it; and it is not so easy to support it as some have imagined, especially with princes who act on principle. If their imaginations be quick and lively, and their temper precipitate, like Henry's, the passions once inflamed will, at first, carry them very far from their purpose, but never so far but that they may be brought back by reason: and from dispositions like these one will have violent fits of anger to sustain; but, to make amends, there is neither obstinate prejudice, imperfect reconciliations, nor studied artifices to apprehend. It was this reason which induced me to wait with more patience than I should otherwise have done for the issue of an affair so complicated and perplexed; and without altering my behaviour, either while I was at Paris or in those short excursions I made from time to time to Fontainebleau, I appeared always the same. My friends were not able to comprehend how I could enjoy a tranquillity which they were not capable of themselves, although so fully persuaded of my innocence that all of them would have willingly become sureties for my conduct: they expressed great surprise at his majesty's behaviour to me, and could not keep silence at court, and probably in secret taxed the prince with injustice. Upon this occasion I received from the family of Lorraine all the kind offices of sincere and affectionate relations.

At length my wishes and expectations were answered: the king, finding that my enemies could bring no proofs of what they had advanced against me, began to fear he had been a little too hasty: my past services rose to his remembrance; my present conduct and the purport of my letter, dwelt upon his thoughts: he was struck with all this, and regretted that he had suffered any expressions of anger to escape him, being convinced that nothing was more just and reasonable than the request I had made him, that he would not condemn me without proofs of my guilt. One day when I was at Fontainebleau, he sent La Varenne, D'Escures, and Beringhen to me, on pretence of some business, supposing I should tell them in confidence my difficulties and perplexity; however, I confined myself wholly to the business they came about, and avoided mentioning any other subject. Villeroy and Sillery were sent to me afterwards for the same purpose,

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which I was convinced of as soon as I found that they had nothing to say to me, but on an affair of so little consequence that it was not worthy the trouble they gave themselves; this was about a despatch from Ancel,* who managed the affairs of France at Vienna. I behaved to these gentlemen as I had done to the others; they had orders to make advances, and draw from me, at any price whatever, a confession of my sentiments upon the treatment I received from his majesty. The reader will judge if they acquitted themselves faithfully of their commission and like true mediators: they turned the conversation from business to the danger and difficulty of serving princes, and the mortification ministers are frequently exposed to, and the uneasiness which slander must give to a man of honour; they afterwards gave me to understand more plainly, that a minister was not defended from these inconveniences under the reigning king.

I saw clearly enough that these two gentlemen, by talking in this manner, executed indeed the orders they had received, but with so much additional art on their side as made it evident they were very solicitous to find some occasion of realising my supposed crime when they made their report to his majesty. To adopt their sentiments had been insolence, and silence might have been construed into obstinacy and pride: I therefore replied, with great composure, that I did not doubt but that there were princes in the world such as they represented, but that his majesty was too just and too good to treat in that manner such servants whose behaviour had been irreproachable, as, for example, I believed my own to be; that I was so well persuaded of this truth, that, although I should hear the contrary from his own mouth, yet I should think his tongue but ill explained the meaning of his heart. These words were sufficient to disconcert these malicious commissioners, but they had recourse to other artifices to force from me some expression of complaint or anger; and finding that they were not able to effect their purpose, they returned to tell his majesty not what I had said, but that I had said nothing at all, and that, contrary to my usual custom, I was so wrapped up in reserve that I had not deigned to utter a single word. From hence it was easy

* William Ancel, master of the household, resident at Vienna.

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to judge what these two gentlemen would have said if I had given them the least opportunity of entrapping me. During the remainder of this day, I saw only such messengers as those; but I was fully determined not to open myself on this subject to the king himself, unless he led to it first; and that he might see no alteration in my conduct, I prepared to set out the next morning for Paris, as the evening before I had told him I would.

I waited on his majesty, as usual, to receive his orders before I went away. I found him in his closet, surrounded by the courtiers who were come to his levee, and getting himself booted to go to the chase. At my entrance, he arose half up from his chair, one of his boots being already on, and pulling off his hat to me, bid me good-morrow, ceremoniously calling me *monsieur;* all which discovered a mind either grieved or perplexed. His usual style to me was, "My friend Rosny," or "Grand master;" but that confusion of mind he appeared to labour under, when, without seeming to know what he did, he struck the little ivory cylinders which he had in his hand one against the other, convinced me that I was not mistaken when I concluded there was neither anger nor disgust in this behaviour. I had likewise made him a much more profound bow than usual, which, as he afterwards told me, moved him so much that it was with difficulty he could restrain himself from falling that instant upon my neck. He continued musing some moments longer, and then told Beringhen that it was not a good day for the chase, and that he would be unbooted. Beringhen, surprised at this sudden change of his intentions, replied, a little imprudently, that it was a very fine day. "It is not a fine day," replied Henry, with some emotion; "I will not ride this morning: take off my boots." That done, the king entered into a conversation, directing himself sometimes to one, sometimes to another, and choosing such subjects as he thought would afford me an opportunity of speaking; but observing I was still silent, he took Bellegarde by the hand. "M. Le Grand," said he, "let us walk; I would talk with you a little, that you may set out to-day on your journey to Burgundy." They had some private business together, which related chiefly to some idle tales and quarrels of women.

When they came to the door of the little staircase which

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leads to the queen's garden, the king called L'Oserai, and, as he afterwards told me, bid him observe whether I followed him, and if I turned another way, not to fail to inform him immediately of it. I stayed in the same place during the whole time that his majesty was talking to M. Le Grand, in the walk that leads to the garden of the Conciergerie, but I observed that he often turned his eyes upon me. After Bellegarde had taken leave of the king, I advanced, and desired to know if his majesty had any orders for me. "And where are you going?" said he. "To Paris, Sire," replied I, "upon the business you spoke to me of two days since." "Well, go then," said the king; "I still recommend to you the care of my affairs, and desire that you should continue to love me." I bowed low; he embraced me as usual, and I took the road to my own house; but scarcely had I got to the distance of three hundred paces, when, looking back, I saw La Varenne running after me, crying, "Sir, the king would speak with you." His majesty, seeing me return, struck into the road which leads to the Kennel, and calling to me while I was yet at a distance, "Come hither," said he; "have you nothing to say to me?" "No, Sire," I replied, "not at present." "Well, then, I have something to say to you," answered he with precipitation; and taking my hand, led me into the grove of white mulberry-trees, and ordered two Swiss sentinels, who did not understand French, to be placed at the entrance of the canals which surrounded the grove.

The king began by embracing me twice in a most affectionate manner, which the courtiers easily perceived, for we were within view, and they carefully watched all our gestures; then calling me "friend," and resuming his former familiarity with me, he told me, with a look and accent which went to my heart, that the coldness and reserve with which we had for a month past behaved towards each other must needs be very painful to two persons who, for three-and-thirty years, had been accustomed to the most unlimited confidence, and that it was time to deprive those who were the cause of it of an occasion of triumph which flattered too much their hatred of me, and the envy with which they beheld his and his kingdom's increasing prosperity. The heart of this good prince opening as he spoke to me, he added, that, earnestly desiring

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we should both forget what had happened, he thought it necessary to leave me ignorant of nothing that had passed on his side, either with respect to the informations which had been given him against me, the effects they had produced in his mind, and lastly, the words and actions by which he had made those unfavourable impressions public. He entreated, commanded, and made me promise to follow the example he was going to give me, to discover to him all the different emotions with which I had been agitated, and my sentiments both of the treatment I had received from him and of the affair itself, with the same unreserved freedom he should use towards me, "that before we leave this place," said he, "our minds may be wholly freed from doubts and suspicion, and both perfectly satisfied with each other; therefore, as I shall open my whole heart freely to you, I must entreat you will not disguise yours from me." I gave him my word of honour that I would most faithfully obey this injunction.

The king then began, first, by naming all those persons who had endeavoured to injure me with him on that occasion as well by deeds as words, among which there were some of all ranks and ages, and many who had served his majesty as long as myself. These, I believe, I may divide into seven classes: in the first I shall place the princes of the blood and great officers of the crown; in the second, the king's mistresses, with their children, and such as either through the ties of blood or friendship supported their interests and served their passions: among these were Cœuvres, Fresnes, Forget, Puget, Placin, Vallon, and many more; the Marchioness of Verneuil was at the head of all. The rage which animated these two classes against me was excited by my having retrenched their gratuities. The third was composed of the partisans of Spain and the remains of the old Leaguers, whose politics and principles of government could not agree with the king's or with mine; and this class was increased by many members of the council, as Villeroy, Sillery, Fresnes, Forget, and others, who acted in concert with the Jesuits: in the fourth I comprehend all the *petits-maîtres*, court-favourites, and idle, insignificant persons, who load Paris with a useless weight; these were actuated by their resentment against me for preventing his majesty from bestowing such favours on them as they expected, and for the opposi-

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tion of my manner of living and conduct to theirs; the number of these is too great and themselves too contemptible to sully the paper with their names: the fifth was made up of the seditious and malcontents of France, whom the flourishing condition of the kingdom, the wise economy of Henry, and the preparations he was making, which rendered him too powerful, incited to conspire my ruin: the financiers and other men of business made up the sixth, and they, indeed, had no reason to be greatly my friends.

The seventh and last class was composed of another kind of court-flatterers, somewhat inferior to those I have already mentioned; these were ever ready to give advice, and sought to make their court to the prince by continually furnishing him with new projects for raising money; men, for the most part, formerly in place, and to whom nothing more of their once shining fortune remained than the detestable science of impoverishing the people, which, for their own interest, and by an effect of long habitude in guilt, they endeavoured to teach his majesty; but, finding that this trade was become much less profitable to them since his majesty had confided to me the sole management of his finances, they practised another art, which discovered dispositions nearly the same; this was to invent slanders, dress up detraction like truth, and to be the venal instruments of those who either durst not or would not appear themselves in the satirical libels which filled the court; it was by them that these contemptible pieces were composed, spread abroad, and the truth of them maintained and propagated; the dangerous talent of raillery and lively sallies of wit opened them a way to the company and familiarity of Henry, who loved an easy and spirited conversation. Although he was, perhaps, upon his guard against their malignant strokes at me, yet he could not at length avoid being touched by them. Some of those whom he had at first despised or banished from his presence found means afterwards to make themselves heard. In this list would be found none but names so obscure that they do not deserve to be raked from the dust, such as Juvigny, Parisis, Le Maine, Beaufort, Bersot, Longuet, Chalange, Versenai, Santeny, &c., if Sancy, who merits the first place among them, had not completed his own dishonour by this vile trade, which helped to retard his ruin when his folly and ex-

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cess had left him no other resource. He was obliged to sell his jewels, and offered them to the king, who, because he was not willing they should go out of the kingdom, ordered me to purchase them.

The king, after recounting the names of the authors, gave me a detail of their artifices. All that the wit of man could devise, when animated by an eager desire to destroy, was practised by them; wherever the king turned his steps he saw nothing but informations, letters, libels, billets, and other papers of the same kind, not to mention the political memorials with which they presented him, under show of zeal for the State and affection for his person; these papers he found under his table, under the carpet of his chamber, and under his pillow; they caused them to be presented to him by persons unknown, they were given into his own hand in the form of petitions, and crammed into his sleeves and pockets. I was there painted in the most hateful colours, and the most injurious epithets were not spared, except when, by the refinement of those treacherous praises which I have already mentioned, they exaggerated to his majesty my unwearied industry, my great abilities, the depth of my judgment, my manners, once rude and forbidding, now, as they said, become gracious and obliging to all. Henry, with great sincerity, owned to me that he was so imposed upon by these artifices, that he had almost entirely lost the good opinion he had once conceived of me, and that these wretches had contrived to fill him with such a desire of knowing all their intentions, that at the very time when he seemed so weary of this infinite number of libels and informations as to throw them aside without taking any notice of them, yet afterwards he could not resist the inclination he felt to collect them together and cause them to be read to him.

It must necessarily be that this prince was prejudiced in a strange manner, since he could not perceive that these writings were often no less injurious to himself than to me; as, for example, when he read that I had made him mercenary and unjust to those who served him faithfully, to whom, under pretended compensation for old debts, he refused what they had a lawful claim to; they likewise imputed weakness and timidity to him in writing to me on all these occasions, which certainly was not greatly to his honour,

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whether in him they made it an excuse for his avarice or a mark of his dependance. It was by these insinuations they began at first, and while they went no further the king, who found only new occasion to praise my administration, was not prejudiced against me; but to put these critics to silence he only required summaries of the State debts which I had discharged to show them; and as for me, when I had an opportunity, I severely reproved those persons for their too free censures; while, under a false pretence of being denied justice, they suffered expressions to escape them in their rage with which his majesty had good reason to be offended. But they soon left these slight accusations for others of greater consequence.

Henry, to excuse the credulity with which he had believed these slanders, would have me judge myself of the libels in which they were contained. But as it would have been a tedious task to read them all, he fixed upon one* which Juvigny had shown him twelve days before, and which had been made public, because in this all the different calumnies which were scattered throughout many other libels had been collected, which made it as complete as a work of that kind could be: there was, indeed, some little intricacy in it, but it was written, however, with a sufficient force of style and judgment to persuade his majesty that it proceeded from some other hand than Juvigny's, whose powers it greatly exceeded. The king, taking this paper out of his pocket, told me that by reading it I might possibly help him to find out the author, whose name he would be glad to know. I received it from his majesty's hands, and read it from beginning to end in his presence. The reader, if he pleases, may here see the substance of it, for it is not my intention to conceal any part of it.

The author, whoever he was, began (and indeed no writing had ever more need of such a precaution) by endeavouring to clear himself of all suspicion of envy or prejudice: the great

* This book was entitled "A Political Discourse, showing the King in what respects his Majesty is ill served." "It was privately handed about at Paris," says L'Etoile, "in manuscript. The style of it was somewhat free and bold for those times, when all truths were not allowed to be spoken; nevertheless it did not contain anything against the king or his service, but many things against M. de Rosny."

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qualities of Henry, the happiness which France enjoyed under his reign, the advantageous situation of his affairs, made a second preamble very proper to captivate the goodwill of this prince, and still more to lead naturally to the accusation the writer was to make against me, of having insolently boasted that this happiness was my sole work; and from thence, with great art, he introduced this reflection, that it was but too common for ministers of such abilities, and favourites with so much power, to engage in designs pernicious to the sovereign and the State. A crowd of examples, eloquently displayed, finished this part of the picture.

From thence the author proceeded, not to examine my actions, which alone could afford a just proof of his assertions, but to criticise my manners; and, in the gracious reception I had lately given to all persons in general who came to my house he found an unanswerable proof of those pernicious designs; and added, that the number of persons, from the princes of the blood down to the most inconsiderable of the people, which, by this studied civility, I had gained over to my interests, was almost incredible. He attempted to enumerate this crowd of partisans, which could not, indeed, but be very considerable, since all that this accusation was founded upon was that complaisance and politeness of behaviour which in France it is the custom to treat every one with. The Prince of Conti and the Duke of Montpensier were at the top of the list, then the whole family of Lorraine; several French lords came next: my reconciliation with the Duke of Epernon, because followed by a sincere and reciprocal friendship, was misrepresented under the name of a union formed by a boundless ambition. Messieurs de Montbazon, de Ventadour, de Fervaques, d'Ornano, de Saint-Géran, de Praslin, de Grammont, d'Aubeterre, de Montigny, de Schomberg, and others, were likewise mentioned as persons whom I attached to my interest by the distinction with which I treated them, the services I was perpetually doing them, and the distribution I made amongst them of part of his majesty's treasures, which I was so sparing of to all others.

All this not being sufficient to give probability to those views the author attributed to me, he added to it the correspondence I had carried on without the kingdom. He

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mentioned an expression which fell from the King of England, and which might well be considered as a mere compliment, "that the King of France was happy in having me," and made it an argument to prove that I had violated the faith I owed to my prince; that not only his Britannic majesty, but likewise the States-General of the United Provinces, the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Deux-Ponts, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, the Marquises of Anspach, Dourlach, and Baden were ready to take my part blindly, and engage openly in my defence: the slightest service which any of them received from me was construed into a criminal intrigue. All the Protestant bodies, whether French or foreigners, as well as the Helvetic senate, being gained by the regularity of their payments, and by largesses from me, were said to be absolutely devoted to my interests.

After having thus made the first essay with accusations which carried in them some little appearance of probability, the author became more bold, and impudently hazarded others, the falsity of which appeared at the first view. According to him, I did not content myself any longer with my correspondence in foreign countries alone; but by sending his majesty's money into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Switzerland, I was laying up for myself immense sums, in order one day to retire to one or other of those places, and, as opportunities offered, make levies of Swiss, German horse and lansquenets, to support the Protestant religion, and, after the example of Admiral Coligny, give up France to be preyed upon by these troops. The author, who doubtless was sensible that a minute detail of circumstances was generally considered as a mark of truth and sincerity, particularised this event as if he were already a witness of it; he alleged, that, by purchasing arms, iron, lead, brass, bullets, and other warlike stores for his majesty's magazines, I had also private magazines of my own, in each of the strongest Protestant cities, where I deposited those stores in my own name. Certainly these people would have had reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of these arts, if by this accusation they could have prevailed upon the king to discontinue his preparations. This admirable piece concluded with an exhortation to his majesty to confide no longer to one person the management of his

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revenue, the use of his authority, and the administration of his affairs, but to associate with me some person who might keep a vigilant eye over my conduct.

While I was reading this memorial, Henry observed me with great attention; but finding that I read it as I would have done any indifferent paper in which I was not the least concerned, without saying a single word, without betraying the least emotion, or even any change of colour, "Well, what do you think of it?" said he. "What is your opinion of it, Sire?" replied I, "you who have read it more than once, and kept it so long in your hands? For my part, I am not so much surprised at these sort of writings, which, in effect, are nothing but the trifling productions of foolish and wicked men, as to find that so great a king, possessed of so much wisdom, courage, and goodness, and who has known me for so many years, would have patience to read them himself, and hear me read them throughout in his presence, without at least showing by his anger the violence he did himself in listening to such calumnies, and without ordering the authors to be sought for, to punish them severely."

After having thus spoken, I considered that the most effectual way to restore peace to the king's mind, and revive in him all his former sentiments towards me, was to give a direct and particular answer to each of the accusations which my enemies brought against me; and this I had given him my word I would do. I confined myself therefore to Juvigny's libel, which I had still in my hands, that I might give a separate answer to each article. The rest of my enemies, who durst not attack me openly, for fear of being obliged to produce their proofs, merited only contempt: and it was with this observation that I began my answer. To the presumptuous and injurious discourses of his majesty's government, which they attributed to me, I opposed those words I had so often in my mouth, in which I pointed out the king as a model for those princes who would be good and great to form themselves by. The examples they produced of ministers who became traitors, and of ungrateful favourites, could not affect the fidelity of a man who, like me, had laboured to perfect those great and amiable qualities he had derived from his illustrious ancestors. I defied them to produce a single person, whether a friend or kinsman, to whom I had given

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any gratuity without a sufficient reason, and a particular order from his majesty. Against the traitorous designs they imputed to me of fomenting the civil wars, I appealed to Henry's knowledge of the affection I bore to my country, the attachment I ever had to his person, my solicitude for my own honour and reputation, and the opposition I had given on every occasion to the ill-designs of the Protestants, which had drawn the whole weight of their resentment upon me.

Besides, what advantage could I promise myself from these chimerical schemes, which I did not at present possess in the highest and most honourable station to which any subject could aspire—what could be my aim? To place the crown on my own head? My enemies themselves did not accuse me of such a frantic ambition. To carry it out of the royal family? Although it were in my power to dispose of it, on whom could I fix my choice but on the prince to whom I had, during thirty years, consecrated all my labours and my services, and for whose interest I had shed my blood and devoted my life? Why, if I was the traitor they insinuated, did I still bend my whole cares to the increase of his glory, by those noble designs which, if I did not suggest, I was at least the sole confidant and promoter of? If I had views prejudicial to his crown, or dangerous to his person, why did I so earnestly seek to engage him in all those alliances with England and the other powers of Europe?—was not this acting directly against myself? Is it by pursuing such measures as these that ambitious and designing subjects have endeavoured to bring about revolutions, and to ruin the State? Was it not rather by enervating the mind of their master, soothing his inclinations to luxury, indulging his passions, prevailing on him to violate the laws, to neglect all order and government, and to throw every part of the State into confusion? Whereas I was continually laying before his majesty the state of his affairs, informing him of the use and destination of his money, and carrying my solicitude for order and economy so far, as to reproach him with even the smallest needless expense. I amassed him treasure, filled his magazines and arsenals, pointed out to him the means of rendering himself formidable to all Europe. It is not thus that rebellious subjects act, when they secretly undermine the foun-

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dations of their sovereign's power. The conduct of ministers is always equivocal in some part or other; however, I may truly say, that mine might stand the test of the strictest examination.

It was easy for me to perceive that his majesty felt all the force of these arguments. I concluded them with imploring him, in the most fervent manner, to believe that I had neither concealed from him nor disguised any of the thoughts of my heart; I confirmed these assurances by the most sacred oaths, which he knew I never uttered rashly; I addressed him by all those revered and tender epithets which had at all times been the expressions of my zeal and attachment to his person. I would have embraced his knees, but he would not suffer it, lest those who beheld this posture might imagine I had recourse to it to obtain his pardon for a real crime: he told me that he was fully convinced of my fidelity, that he sincerely repented of his too easy belief, and that he would never remember what had passed but to impress upon his mind the obligation he was under to love me the better for it. This was the result of a conference which had been so necessary to restore quiet to us both.

Those who have any knowledge of a court may easily guess the emotions that agitated the hearts of the courtiers during a conversation which lasted more than four hours, and with what attention our words and actions were observed; for though it was not possible for them to hear what we said, yet they could not be ignorant of the subject we were upon. The manner in which Henry had received me in the morning, his recalling me after I had left him, the precaution he had used at the beginning of our conversation, the papers he had taken with him, the earnest manner in which we seemed to discourse, was sufficient to inform them of the rest; each, according to his fears or hopes, expected the result of so important an explanation between us.

Henry was willing to tell it them himself. After receiving the papers again from me, which he was resolved to throw into the fire, he went out to the grove of mulberry-trees, holding me by the hand, and asked the crowd of courtiers who had got together what hour it was; they answered it was one o'clock, and that he had been walking a long time. "I have," said the prince, in an accent that spread a paleness

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on every cheek; "but there are some present who are more weary than I am: however, to console them, I here declare before you all, that Rosny is dearer to me than ever, and that our friendship will continue till death. And you, my friend," pursued he, turning to me, "go home to dinner, and love me and serve me, for I am fully satisfied with you." Many others, in the same situation I was, would have made use of their returning favour and interest to exact vengeance on those who had laboured thus to procure their disgrace;* but, I thank Heaven, I cannot reproach myself with having even entertained such a thought. I carefully concealed their names from my secretaries, nor will I mention them here; I likewise suppress part of what the king said to me to their disadvantage: though they have acted in a quite contrary manner, yet it cannot alter my opinion, that this sort of revenge is unworthy of a generous mind.

That I might remove all cause of uneasiness from the king concerning the affair which has led me into so particular an account of this great difference between us, I managed Grillon with such art, that he at length consented to take thirty thousand crowns of Créquy for his post, which, in respect to Lesdiguières, his majesty had permitted that nobleman to purchase.† This drew many acknowledgments to me from the father-in-law and the son. Créquy came in person to make me these compliments, and added to them repeated assurances of gratitude and affection: Lesdiguières wrote to me from Grenoble, and expressed himself in terms still stronger than Créquy had done. As we were before con-

* The Sieur de Juvigny, or Divigny, a French gentleman, author of the above-mentioned memorial, suffered for all the rest. A prosecution was carried on against him for high treason, and he was found guilty, condemned to death, and all his effects to be confiscated; but having made his escape, he was hanged in effigy at Paris.

† Henry IV., though extremely dissatisfied with the Duke of Epernon, who had retired to Angoulême, and made great complaints of the injustice he pretended the king had done him on this occasion, yet insisted that M. de Créquy should wait on him as his colonel, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Paris, to take the oaths before him, get his commission allowed by him, and receive his orders for being invested in his post. The Duke of Epernon made him dance attendance after him for several days, and suffered him to wait a whole day at the door of his chamber. (History of the Duke of Epernon, p. 112.)

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nected by alliances between our families, this last service they had received from me made every one expect to see us for the future intimate friends; however, there was not any person by whom I was so easily abandoned, or from whom I received so many bad offices, after the death of Henry, as from these two men: gratitude is not a virtue to be found amongst courtiers.

The heart of Henry being once tainted with suspicions to my prejudice, it was not impossible but that the wound might again be opened. It was this hope that supported my enemies amidst the mortifications and grief they suffered from the adventure at Fontainebleau. It was not long before they again returned to the charge, and (it is with regret I say it) were almost as successful as before;* the affair, however, did not become as public as the former had been, because it was sooner followed by an explanation, and it is needless to repeat it here. If my enemies from time to time enjoyed the pleasure of believing that I should sink under their efforts, yet they were soon undeceived, and those ineffectual attempts but increased their shame and rage; and had I been of a disposition to enjoy such victories, this last, being not less complete than the other, would have

* "The king," says Le Grain (book vii.), "advanced the Duke of Sully in such a manner, that he always reserved a sufficient authority over him; and who knows but it might perhaps be a prudential measure in the king thus to expose him to the hatred of many, against whom he was very able to protect him, in order to keep him under apprehensions of what might be the effects of his failing in his duty?" This passage in our Memoirs seems at first sight to offer something in favour of this conjecture; the opinion of those, nevertheless, who think there was no artifice in the suspicions Henry IV. conceived against the Duke of Sully, appears to me better founded; but whether his suspicions were feigned or real, I also think, as many other persons of sense do, that they ought to be reckoned among that prince's defects. According to the first supposition, a low cunning unbecoming the character of so great a king is apparent; and, according to the second, a piece of injustice, for which the first movements of a hasty passion would be no excuse, there being a kind of agreement between this prince and his minister, that the first should overlook, in the character of the other, that firmness and inflexibility of temper, incapable of a base submission and flattery, in consideration of a fidelity established on such numberless proofs. This is a sufficient evidence that the performance of the most important services will not dispense a man from a flexibility to, and compliance with, the humour of princes, even the most perfect.

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afforded me sufficient matter for triumph; it was likewise at Fontainebleau that the king and I came to an explanation of this second difference; and the morning afterwards the king sent for me very early. As soon as I entered his chamber he took my hand, and led me towards a cross-barred window which looked into the queen's garden, having somewhat to impart to me in private; but as we passed, he said aloud, in the presence of the whole court, "You cannot conceive, my friend, how easily and happily I slept last night, after having opened my heart to you, and had all my doubts cleared up." He then asked me, if I did not feel the same calm satisfaction; I replied that I did, and that he should always find in me the same fidelity and affection.

In the midst of a favour so often interrupted by little jealousies and heats, what convinced me that the heart of Henry always leaned towards me, was, that, however dissatisfied my enemies might sometimes by their insinuations make him with me, yet it never interrupted the course of those benefits with which it was his constant custom to load me and my family. I had proofs of his beneficence with respect to my eldest daughter,* amidst those very storms I have mentioned. I had engaged my word to Fervaques, to give her to the young Laval, whom his majesty, as I have formerly observed, ordered me to prefer to the Duke of Rohan; and the affair was upon the point of being concluded. One day about the beginning of this year, when I was walking with the king upon the terrace belonging to the Capuchins, he again introduced this subject, and told me his reasons for desiring me

* Margaret de Bethune. This lady, to be revenged on her only daughter, who, against her will, had married Henry de Chabot, in the year 1645, set up a boy about fifteen years old as being really her son by the Duke of Rohan, who died seven years before. "Many persons of credit," says Amelot, "who have seen Tancred (the name of this pretended heir to the house of Rohan) have assured me that he had the topping of the Rohan family, which is a small tuft of hair on the forehead, and that the features of his face were remarkably like those of his supposed father." To this anecdote we may add another, by which it is pretended that the Duke of Rohan had a mind to purchase the kingdom of Cyprus of the Grand Seignior for this child: it was also said that his father and mother had kept him concealed only that they might marry their daughter to the Count of Soissons, and afterwards the Duke of Weimar. (See these curious fables in Amelot de la Houssaye, article Bethune, &c., and art. Chypre.)

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to reject the Duke of Rohan, which were, that the marriage of this lord with my daughter had been proposed by the Princess Catherine to the Duchess of Rohan, and accepted by my wife without acquainting him with it; and likewise because Monsieur and Madame de Fervaques had so earnestly solicited his interest in favour of Laval, that he had promised them to give him to me for a son-in-law, rather than the Duke of Rohan, who was not so rich indeed, but had the honour to be so nearly related to him, that if he had died without children, as the princess his sister had done, the Duke of Rohan would have succeeded to his kingdom of Navarre, and the other estates of the families of Albret, Foix, and Armagnac; he then added, that, for other reasons which he would acquaint me with, he had again altered his opinion, and that it was his intention I should break with the family of Fervaques as decently as I could. Having already prepared them for this change of my resolution, he desired me to withdraw the contracts and articles which had been agreed upon between us in such a manner, that the breaking off the match should appear entirely my own act, and that they might not have any room to say they had refused an alliance with me. He added, that he would himself bring the Duke of Rohan to pay his compliments, with the duchess his mother, and expected that I would receive him as one who was to be my son-in-law within three days, having already settled everything himself relating to the marriage; that he would have the contract drawn up in his presence, and would sign it as the kinsman of both parties.

I thanked his majesty for the interest he took in my family, and the honour he conferred upon me. The affair was managed as he had directed; the king gave the bridegroom ten thousand crowns for the wedding clothes and expenses, and the like sum to my daughter. The year before, I had married Mademoiselle du Marais, my wife's daughter by her first husband, to La Boulaye, the son of him whom Henry had loved so much; she had no reason to expect any other gratuity from his majesty than that which is generally given to all the queen's maids of honour, under the name of a present for the nuptial robe, and had been settled at two thousand crowns; the king raised it to five thousand in favour of my daughter-in-law; but that it might not be made a precedent for others, he ordered me to carry it to account.

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It was usual with his majesty, after he had cleared the accounts of his expenses in fortifications and buildings, to say to me in the presence of the officers employed in those works, who attended to know his pleasure concerning further improvements in them, "Well, you see my fortifications and buildings are resolved upon, what have you done to your houses?" To which when I replied, as I seldom failed to do, that I could do nothing to them for want of money, he would answer, "Well, show me your plans, that I may know what you would do if you had money." And after examining them, and telling me what he thought it would be necessary to alter, he added, that he would give me twenty thousand livres to enable me to make those alterations he pointed out to me.

However, I sometimes requested favours of him which he refused to grant, and I shall not have the vanity to conceal it: he would not give the post which had formerly been the Baron de Lux's to my brother, or to La Curée, for both of whom I requested it, telling me, that for Bethune he designed a post in Brittany, which would suit him better; and that as for La Curée, he did not think that employment compatible with the post of lieutenant of a company of light horse, and the government of Chinon, which he already possessed. The truth was, he chose to give it to Ragny, who could do him greater service in the province. I asked the other favours of him in the same letter, the one for my nephew De Melun, and the other for La Boulaye; he told me that La Boulaye had not yet by his services merited such an instance of his bounty; but he granted the other, which was the abbey of Moreilles, in Poitou, lately become vacant. I received another refusal from him, if it may be called so, in which my son-in-law, the Duke of Rohan was concerned; the occasion of it was this:

The Duke of Rohan was governor of St. Jean d'Angély, of which place Des Ageaux was the king's lieutenant; it was not the governor, to whom in justice it belonged, that named this lieutenant, but his majesty, who thought it necessary for the good of his service to deprive the governor of this privilege, that the lieutenant, who in troublesome times had hitherto always played an important part in affairs, might in some degree be independent of the governor, and in a con-

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dition to render his power ineffectual, if he should not use it to the king's satisfaction, and for the advantage of the State. The lieutenant, therefore, was in reality possessed of the whole authority, and the governor had only an empty title. The Duke of Rohan, who earnestly wished to have this prerogative restored to the governor, entreated me to solicit the king for that purpose, a favourable opportunity offering itself by the sickness of Des Ageaux, who, it was thought, would never recover. Whatever inclination I had to do my son-in-law this service, I durst not make the proposal to the king directly, the request having too much conformity with that state of dependance into which my enemies had insinuated I sought to place all the Protestant* cities; nothing more would have been wanting to renew all his suspicions. I resolved, therefore, to sound him first upon the subject, which I did very artfully, taking occasion upon the news of Des Ageaux's sickness, to ask his majesty whom he had thought of to supply his place if he died; it was by letters that I made this attempt; but I would go no further till I had received his majesty's answer. The king, in his answer, told me, that he did not intend to renounce his right of naming the lieutenant of St. Jean, because it would not always be the Duke of Rohan, nor my son-in-law, who would be governor of that place. I mentioned Pousou, the mayor of that city, to him, whom he continued in that office upon the character I gave of him. Des Ageaux recovering from his sickness, no further steps were taken in the affair.

Before I quit this article of marriage I shall take notice of what happened at court, with regard to Mademoiselle de Melun, my niece, whom they thought likewise of marrying at that time, as her fortune was extremely large, the Marchioness de Roubais, my aunt, having made her her sole heir.

The family of D'Estrées cast their eyes on her for a wife

* It is said in the Histoire de la Mère et du Fils (vol. i. p. 15) that Henry IV. refused the Duke of Sully the government of St. Maixans, which the queen herself, at the duke's request, desired of the king for him, saying, prudence would not permit the making a Calvinist master of that place, small as it was. If anything could make one doubt of the truth of this fact, besides M. de Sully's silence in relation to it, the facility with which that prince granted him the government of the whole province must be sufficient.

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to De Cœuvres;* they thought themselves sure of the king's interest; and the affair was proposed to him by M. de Vendôme himself, to whom the king promised that he would speak to me of it before he left Chantilly. He recollected the affair when he was at Louvre-en-Parisis, where they went to dine, and wrote to me concerning it in terms which showed how earnestly he desired the marriage might be concluded.

I wrote to the young lady's relations, who were all Flemings; but the answer they gave me being such as I neither ought nor could repeat to my sovereign, I sent him none at all; and when, at his return, he asked me the reason, I only told him that Mademoiselle de Melun's relations did not approve of the proposed alliance. The king supposing that it was myself who answered for them, and that I had not written to them about the affair, I was obliged to show him the letters I had received from the Marchioness of Roubais, the Prince and Princess of Ligne, the Princess of Epinoy, the Countess of Barlemont, and the Counts of Fontenay and of Buquoy, who had all written to me upon the same subject. Henry, finding in these letters what I would not tell him, that, notwithstanding the honours he had conferred on the house of D'Estrées, they thought it beneath their alliance, "I see," said this prince, with some resentment, "that since we have to do with all these proud Flemish fools, we must think no more of it." Accordingly the affair went no further, his majesty being resolved not to meddle in it any more.

* Francis Hannibal d'Estrées, Marquis of Cœuvres, duke and peer, and marshal of France.

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BOOK XXI.

[1605.]

Details of the finances and of government—Reflections of the author upon the *taille, gabelle*, &c.—Debts of France—Discharged—Flourishing state of the kingdom—Henry the Fourth's application to State affairs—His letters to Rosny—Death of Clement VII.—Leo XI. owes his exaltation to the protection of Henry—His death—Pope Paul V. —Panegyric of the embassy of the Count of Bethune—Brief of Paul V. to Rosny—The esteem in which this minister is held at Rome—Further affairs of Spain, Flanders, and England—The Kings of France and England dissatisfied with Spain—Affairs of the Protestants—Informations given to Henry of their bad designs—Rosny's opinion of the present state of that body—Indisposition of Henry—Assembly of the Protestants at Châtellerault—The views of Henry and the Huguenots in calling this assembly—Rosny sent thither on the part of the king—His public and private instructions—His conversation with Queen Margaret—Intrigues of the Duke of Bouillon and his party against Rosny—His wise conduct in the assembly—His bold speech at the opening of it—He refuses to be president of the assembly.

THE uneasiness I suffered from the king's relapse into doubts and suspicions of my conduct encroached upon part of that time I used to devote entirely to the administration of the finances; but it never lessened my attention to the duties of my several employments. I laboured this year to prove the alienations and usurpations that had been made upon the crown lands, and to clear exactly all the pensions upon the *tailles*, *gabelles*, *décimes*, *aides*, and other parts of the revenue; as well as all the debts contracted either by the king, or by the cities, counties, and communities. Upon calculating these sums, I found that the alienations, pensions, and debts, from the time they were first settled and contracted to the present year, had cost the kingdom above a

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hundred and fifty millions.* What is still more extraordinary is, that all this money, arising from those taxes with which the State was overburdened, and from which no perceptible advantages had been derived, had for the most part been either usurped by those persons who were at first employed in the verification of them, or divided, sold, and alienated by them to others. The king would not believe this, but I made it plain by means of two papers I had just recovered: the first was a list of those persons who had been concerned in the farming of the salt, during the lease of Champigny and Noël de Here; the number amounted to twenty—from Paris, the court, and even the council—and each had from fifty thousand livres to one hundred and fifty thousand crowns apiece; the whole amounting to nine millions seven hundred and thirty-eight thousand livres. The other paper, dated October 27, 1585, was an agreement between the superintendent D'O and those who farmed the salt, for a fifth part: D'O prevailed upon Antony Faschon, a notary, to be security for the whole sum to the farmers before mentioned.

By the same practices his majesty was defrauded of almost all the revenue arising from the *aides* and *parties casuelles*. Gondy had prevailed with D'Incarville, and the other members of the council with whom he shared, to have that money assigned to him for the payment of some debts which he pretended were due to him from the king. Difficult as it was to find out these frauds and connivances, I made such strict inquiries that I discovered three millions that were to come to the treasury. As it was merely with a view to relieve the people that I thus from time to time stripped the usurpers of money that did not belong to them, in proportion to my discoveries I made very considerable abatements, in the king's name, upon the *taille*, that perpetual source of abuses and vexations of all kinds, as well in the assessment

* "Nothing less than the invincible courage of the Duke of Sully was sufficient to retrieve the disorders of the revenue, by disincumbering the mortgaged crown lands from a charge of a hundred millions, by paying off some, and lessening others of the debts of the crown, &c. He always seconded the king in the glorious designs of easing his people." (Political Essay on Commerce, ch. xix.) M. Claudius de l'Isle speaks of him in the same manner, and with the greatest encomiums, in the Abridgment of his Universal History (vol. v. p. 501).

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as collection: it is greatly to be wished, though hardly to be hoped for, that one day or other the fund of this part of the king's revenue may be wholly changed.*

* These abuses and vexations are so flagrant and apparent, that our kings and their ministers have frequently attempted to find some remedy for them, by entirely changing the form of this branch of the revenue of France; but the difficulties the author speaks of have always intervened, and rendered their endeavours fruitless. However, one attempt has been made in our days, which seemed to promise a more happy success, though hitherto its progress has not been very rapid. I will take the liberty of explaining the nature of it here. An unhappy prejudice prevails in this kingdom, and I believe in all monarchical governments, which we cannot be too solicitous to destroy, the minds of the people being thereby kept in a perpetual state of distrust of everything undertaken by their sovereign. From this diffidence alone great part of the same mischievous effects arise, which an absolute disobedience could produce. The prejudice I mean is, that the good of the people is never the motive of the actions of kings; but that, on the contrary, no changes are made in their situation, but such as tend to render them more miserable. It is impossible but so considerable a change as is proposed to be made in the *taille*, must, from its own nature, be subject to great difficulties. Now, I apprehend it will not be sufficient that these difficulties have been overcome in the minds of the few who have formed and perfected this scheme, but they must also be cleared up to those whom it is necessary to employ in the execution of it; for the manner of executing a work of this nature is in no degree analogous to that in which a building may be erected: the latter being effected by the mere mechanical co-operation of the hands of the workmen with the design of the architect: whereas, to carry on and complete the former, it is absolutely necessary that the nature of it should be as clearly conceived by those who are to put it in execution, as by those who formed the plan. But two things stand in opposition to this, which it will become necessary to remove, the one by the means of information, the other by punishment; these are, the want of knowledge and the want of diligence in the inferior officers; the latter making them disobey the orders of their superiors, and the former, though their intention be ever so good, occasioning them to execute everything wrong. This reason alone would be sufficient to prove, that what relates to the general receipt of the *taille proportionelle*, ought not to be entrusted to the assessors and other officers of the intendants of the finances; I dare not say to the intendants themselves, and those acting in immediate subordination to them, who are generally taken by them at random out of the officers of the police or the revenue; and who, having other business of their own, cannot spare the time necessary for the other. But as artificers are sent for from the metropolis when any work is to be performed exceeding the capacity of common workmen, so the council ought to choose and appoint, for the management of the general receipts, commissioners of integrity and capacity, sufficiently

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I place the gabelle after the taille. I never thought anything more capricious and tyrannical than to oblige a private

authorised, and perfectly instructed in the nature of their business, and who should be allowed all the time and expenses that are requisite. If they be too much hurried, part of the remarks necessary for them to make on the different particulars of the business of the provinces will escape their observation; and if their salaries be ill paid, or be not received by them without difficulties, necessity may induce them to betray their trust. This important work certainly demands all possible attention. When one considers how powerful an influence the bonds of parentage, friendship, society, or even mere neighbourhood, have on mankind, how strongly they are affected by different interests, as well personal as social; the fear of displeasing, the desire of obliging, the ambition of being honoured and caressed by their countrymen, the dependance on a superior, who according to his caprice can make his dependant sensible of his superiority, by depriving him of his office, or by unjust reprimands, and the innumerable other motives which tie up a man's hands in the midst of his family and countrymen; a thousand reasons will appear against employing the ordinary officers in the business of the new *taille*. This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of several persons, who, having with great application considered what were the designs of the council in constituting this kind of operation, and afterwards kept a watchful eye on the manner in which it daily appears to be executed by the officers in their several districts, have with great concern found that, out of fifty of these officers, there is perhaps not one whose manner of executing his business does not render the new method more odious than the old. These motives and these difficulties, a perfect knowledge of M. de Vauban's plan, the small difficulty there was in establishing it when trial was made of it, the happiness those few parishes still continue to enjoy which have found the means of preserving it amongst them, the experience every day furnishes that the *dixième* (which in its own nature is but a species of the *dixme*) has every possible advantage over the *taille* and other impositions; all these, I say, must convince every judicious man, that it will be found absolutely necessary to recur to the establishment of the royal *dixme*, as being of all methods the most simple, the least expensive, and the least burdensome to the people; and that when it was proposed by this able and virtuous patriot, it was not received with all the regard it merited. The maxim, that enabling the people to live at their ease will endanger their revolting, is as false as it is cruel. It is also most certainly the interest of the people, if well understood, that the king should be perfectly acquainted with the true value of what they possess, and consequently the real strength of his kingdom; that without regard to exemptions or any unjust privileges, all his majesty's subjects should be equally taxed; and that commerce and industry should meet with all possible encouragement. As to any further reflections which may be made on this matter, we will refer to that excellent work itself, composed by M. de Vauban, and entitled "Dixme Royale," &c.

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man to buy up more salt than he is willing or able to use, and then hinder him from selling the overplus. I once expressed my sentiments of this practice freely to the king, who desired me to give him a circumstantial memorial upon it: as, for example, the prime cost of the salt at the salt-pits, of the expenses till it was sold, of its distribution into granaries, and other questions relating to it. His majesty did not tell me what use he intended to make of this memoir. I drew it up with the utmost expedition, and as near the truth as I was able; for, on account of the reasons I there gave, it was hardly possible to fix the true value of things. However, this memorial produced no consequences; everything remained in the same state as before; which shows how difficult it is to reform abuses which the ignorance, precipitancy, and shortsightedness of those ancients who are proposed to us as infallible guides, have introduced into the first regulations, even when other imposts, far more reasonable, such as the tithes and entries, seem both to point out the way and make it easy.*

The debts contracted by the provinces, town-houses, and corporations, were not less troublesome to the king than his own: I was continually soliciting him to call on me to review and settle them, in the same manner as I had done the

* It is well known what is the net produce to the king, of the gabelle, or salt duty, after all expenses are paid; and it is not, consequently, difficult to discover to what those expenses amount on each minot of salt. Why should not the king at once take the price of each minot of salt on the first sale, and at the salt-pits themselves? Why should not the same be done in the case of the aids? This question, simple as it is, has been asked long ago. The Cardinal de Richelieu, in this respect, following the opinion of his predecessor in the ministry (Test. Politique, part ii. chap. ix. sec. 7), Pérefixe, the author of the Essay on Commerce (ch. v.), and many other able politicians after him, unanimously pronounce sentence against an impost like this, not only burdensome from the manner in which it is levied, but becoming still more unjust from the unequal manner in which it is assessed. It is true they perceive great difficulties in altering it; but this alteration being once made, one of the principal sources of the ease, and at the same time of the opulence, of the nation, would be opened thereby. The Cardinal de Richelieu, who thus speaks of it, adds, that he had found, from the most knowing amongst the superintendents of the finances, that the produce of the duty on salt, if levied at the pits, would be equal to what the King of Spain receives from the Indies. See also on this subject the "Dixme Royale" of M. de Vauban.

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others; I prevailed at last, and his majesty left me the choice of what measures I thought most likely to attain this end. The commissioners I named for this purpose were selected from among those persons whom I knew to be most faithful and capable of the greatest application to business in the sovereign courts, among the masters of requests, the treasurers of France, and other officers; but, as this work could not go on so expeditiously as the former, I shall defer giving an account of it till I come to relate the effects it produced.

And here a reflection occurs to me not more common than just, which is, that regularity and economy must certainly have infinite resources; for, notwithstanding the ordinary expenses of the State, and the extraordinary ones his majesty was at in his kingdom; notwithstanding that three or four millions were sent every year out of the kingdom, to be distributed in foreign countries; notwithstanding the ruinous and exhausted condition in which the king, at his accession to the throne, found France, his finances, and his treasury, and many more difficulties, almost insurmountable; yet the government had already an appearance of opulence and strength, which banished all remembrance of its former indigence. Could it have been possible for any person to imagine, ten years before, that in 1605 the king would find himself as rich as he really was, if they reflected that the sums which were demanded of him when he was acknowledged peaceable possessor of the crown, and those that were owing from his exchequer, with all the interest and arrears, did not amount to less than three hundred and thirty millions; and that all which could be paid of this enormous sum, such as the mere debts, should really be done, and such measures taken with regard to the pensions and assignments, that they should be regularly paid, without exhausting the treasury, or incurring the least inconvenience? Yet all this was actually effected. And probably the reader has not yet found anything in these Memoirs so interesting as the following account, in gross, of the particular sums which made up the whole.

There was due to Queen Elizabeth at the time of her demise, for ready money lent to Henry in his necessities, advanced by her to the German troops and the army sent into Brittany, as well as for all the other sums which the

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maintenance of those supplies that Henry was furnished with by the English amounted to (consisting of men, vessels, and provisions for the siege of Dieppe and that of Rouen, and during the war with the League), the sum of seven millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred livres; to the Swiss Cantons, for their services and their pensions, comprehending the interest due upon them, thirty-five millions eight hundred and twenty-three thousand four hundred and seventy-seven livres and six sols; to the States-General, for money lent for pay due to their troops and for the furnishing vessels, powder, provision, ammunition, &c., during the League likewise, nine millions two hundred and seventy-five thousand four hundred livres; to several French noblemen, colonels, and other officers, for service, pay, pensions, salaries, &c., during the civil wars, six millions five hundred and forty-seven thousand livres; to the farmers of every part of the revenue, to princes, cities, corporations, and private persons, comprehending the salaries, appointments, and pensions of the officers of the king's household, of the police, and the finances, and the civil magistrates, by settled accounts, twenty-eight millions four hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and sixty livres; to several private persons, according to their bills, rescriptions, receipts of the treasury, warrants, acquittals, patents, &c., almost all in the reign of Henry III., twelve millions two hundred and thirty-six thousand livres; mortgages of the crown lands, compositions of pensions, where the principal being exorbitant was moderated by the creditors themselves or deducted by his majesty, one hundred and fifty millions; treaties made at the abolition of the League, which have been calculated already, thirty-three millions one hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and twenty-four livres.*

It is certain, as I have already observed, that upon the examination of these different demands upon the exchequer, many that were found to be unjust were totally annulled; others were compounded for with the creditors, and others were got clear of by several expedients, such as those upon the taxes and the crown lands; but it may be easily imagined

* There is a miscomputation of about a million in the old Memoirs, as well in the account of the contracts of the League, as in the sum total; but this is of small moment.

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that there remained a very considerable number of debts to be discharged; and here I must anticipate my story, for the sake of observing that good examples are not always efficacious. After Henry's death, those who were placed at the head of affairs began their administration by destroying part of that economy, and abolishing many of those regulations which he had established; this conduct, while it wore an appearance (and only an appearance) of lenity and compassion, gave me reason to apprehend that under the new reign the national debt would be increased rather than lessened. But to quit this subject for the present, I shall content myself with barely mentioning here, as an eternal monument of Henry's glory, the flourishing condition into which the wisdom of his government had already brought France; both foreign and domestic payments were regularly made, and no hardship was sustained by any of his subjects, either from those payments or the expenses of the current year, though the king still continued to lay out very large sums in rebuilding, furnishing, and adorning his palaces; repairing the old fortifications and raising new ones; erecting public buildings;* re-edifying churches, hospitals, and con-

* Henry the Great caused the chapel of Fontainebleau to be painted and gilt, cut avenues through the forest, and in many other respects decorated this royal palace. He finished the Pont Neuf, built the square and street Dauphine, repaired many streets in Paris, built wharfs, &c. Besides what is said in these Memoirs, see the detail of all these buildings in the "Mercure François," anno 1610, p. 404, Le Grain's "Decade," b. viii., Morizot, chap. xlvi., and others who have written descriptions or the history of the antiquities of Paris, &c. No one is ignorant that this great prince, through the representations of the Duke of Sully, repaired the highways in almost every quarter of the kingdom, built many causeways and bridges in places before impassable, especially in Berry, which might vie in point of beauty with the works of the Romans; but which, for want of being kept in order for a hundred and thirty years past, are at present in a very indifferent state: that, by his order, elms and other trees were planted along the sides of these roads, some of which are still growing in different places, where they are called *Rosnys*. There are many ordinances made by the king on this subject, and some others, by which the converting arable land into pasture is forbidden, and vineyards are ordered to be stubbed up. These buildings and works, and this application to render his kingdom flourishing, contributed, perhaps as much as his military exploits, to procure Henry IV. the title of Great, which was conferred on him in his lifetime, and, as it appears, about the year 1602.

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vents; in funds for repairing pavements, moles, and bridges; in building a great number of galleys upon the Mediterranean; in filling his magazines and arsenals; redeeming the jewels of the crown, and purchasing more; and after all this, there still remained at the end of the year a considerable sum to deposit in the Bastille.*

But what is still more valuable than all these treasures, Henry acquired them not only without increasing the people's poverty, but even lightened the weight of their former burden, as has been shown in these Memoirs. He always regretted that the present situation of affairs would not permit him to carry this tenderness for his subjects further; if the enemies of his government will not confess this truth, if in their writings they have asserted the contrary, yet it is absolutely certain that plenty and affluence began now to be felt over the whole kingdom: the nobility and soldiery were delivered from their tyrants in the revenue; the peasant sowed and reaped in full security;† the artist enriched himself by his profession; the meanest tradesman rejoiced in his profits; and the nobleman himself improved his estates. Some examples of severity which his majesty had been obliged to make, were so far from disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, that it was never more fully established, and never more sincerely enjoyed; the licentiousness which had been corrected in the army, procured the people a real advantage, without doing any prejudice to the officer and soldier, who were paid with the utmost exactness, rewarded in proportion to their services, and esteemed, honoured, and caressed, as

* The share the Duke of Sully had in all these things, gave him a just claim to the following singular eulogium in the "Mercure François" (anno 1606, p. 101): "As he executed these offices and employments in a manner more for the benefit and emolument of the crown of France than any of his predecessors, all true Frenchmen readily acknowledged his merit in this respect, as well in the lifetime of his majesty as since his death: and though he could not escape the calumny of those who envied him, it must nevertheless be allowed that he was the Joseph both of our king and of France."

† The affection this good prince bore to his people appears from this saying of his, which has been preserved as a kind of tradition, that he would make the poorest peasant in his dominions able to eat flesh all the week long, and to put a fowl in his pot besides on Sundays.

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their merits and valour deserved. The medals which I presented as usual to his majesty, represented a lily shooting out a bud on each side, pointing to two stars which represented the polar stars, with these words, *Hi fines*. It is by actions like these that a king may aspire to the glory of having accomplished this motto.

I shall not repeat here what I have said before concerning the letters I received from Henry; I had so many this year, and on all sorts of subjects—finances, trade, politics—that I shall not attempt to produce them. Several of them contained orders for presents to different persons: thirty thousand livres to the queen for her new year's gift; nine thousand livres to the Countess of Moret;* fifteen hundred livres to the queen's bedchamber women; and a like sum to be distributed by Madame de Montglat among the nurses of the king's children upon different occasions; four thousand to the family of the Commandeur de Chastes; twelve hundred livres to Praslin; a like sum to Merens; three thousand livres to the Count of Saint-Aignan, to indemnify him for the money he had expended on his father-in-law Montigny's company; two thousand four hundred livres to several pensioners in Burgundy, paid them by Hector Le Breton, his commissioner in that province; a pension of four thousand livres to Lognac,† a Protestant captain, in reward for his

* Jacqueline du Beuil. The king, towards the end of the preceding year, had created her Countess of Moret, she having revived the passion of love in his heart, which had, in a manner, died with his marchioness. He had also married her to a gentleman called Chanvalon. In L'Etoile's Journal (an. 1604) there are some anecdotes relating to this matter, but they are too licentious for us to repeat. Mademoiselle du Beuil or de Beuil, is represented in the writings of that time as a lady who was not on an equal footing with Mademoiselle d'Entragues in point of beauty, but in recompense for this defect, her look expressed genius and penetration; her temper was extremely gay, and her conversation full of sprightliness, which qualification Henry IV. greatly admired. The queen did not appear to take the same umbrage at this lady, or to have that aversion to her as she showed against the Marchioness de Verneuil.

† This is not the person whom Henry III. employed to stab the Duke of Guise at the holding of the States at Blois. Having requested that prince to bestow a government on him as a recompense for the service he had done him, and his request being refused, he retired in discontent to Guienne where very soon after he was shot by a gentle-

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services; forty thousand livres, which his majesty thought a just restitution to Villars, saying, that this family had lost above six thousand livres of interest since this sum became due to them; five hundred livres to the Duke of Ventadour, who had advanced them for small expenses, to show, said Henry, that no one loses anything by serving me; the Sieur De Canisy received a like reimbursement; seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty-eight livres to La Livre, his apothecary: his majesty had been indebted to this man ever since the year 1592, and was partly the cause of his ruin, for his creditors arrested him and threw him into prison, but the king indemnified him for all; nine thousand five hundred and forty-one livres to John Sellier, a merchant of the city of Troyes, who made this demand upon his majesty for a certain public building.

In this summary of expenses I do not include the hundred and fifty thousand livres given to the Count of Soissons, of the edict *des greffes*,* and of another edict, creating a small tax upon salt in favour of the Duke of Mayenne, nor of many other gratuities and just payments; Zamet obtained of his majesty the two offices of receivers at Rouen for two thousand crowns each; Henry caused the Forest of L'Aigle to be divided, by law, between him and the constable; but, to prevent any dispute, he purchased the other part, and settled himself the time for cutting down the trees; he referred to his council the offer that had been made him of twelve hundred thousand livres for the grant of an edict concerning the four deniers; he sent Nargonne with his company to guard the Tower of Bouc, which he thought a place of great importance: but the Duke of Mercœur, to whom this fortress belonged, raised some difficulties, which determined his majesty to treat with him for it, either by way of exchange or by purchasing it.

Great part of the letters I received from this prince turned upon his buildings, those of his new silk manufactures† especially, which he still carried on with the same

man in his neighbourhood, with whom he had a quarrel. (Cayet's Chronol. Novenn. vol. i. b. i. p. 133.)

* The *greffe* was the office in which the registers of the parliament were kept, and from whence were issued the sentences and arrêts.

† It appears also from the writings of that time, that a manufacturer

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ardour; his greenhouse in the Tuileries was the place he set apart for breeding the silkworms, the eggs having been sent him from Spain, and he hastened the building of it for that purpose. I laid, by his order, the foundations of the new edifices for his tapestry weavers in the Horse-market, which, requiring a larger extent of ground than could be procured, without encroaching a little upon a garden belonging to Montmagny, who opposed it strongly, the king ordered that he should be paid the sum he demanded for his ground, representing to him, however, that when the public utility was in question, an individual ought, on such occasions, to waive the consideration of his own particular interest. His majesty sent for Comans and La Planche from other countries, and gave them the care and superintendence of these manufactures. It was not long before the new directors made complaints and disliked their situation, either because they did not find the profits equal to their hopes and expectations, or, that having advanced considerable sums themselves, they saw no great probability of getting them in again. The king got rid of their importunity by referring them to me, commanding me to act in such a manner towards them that they should suffer no loss, but likewise that their gains should not be too considerable.

The attention of this prince in conciliating the good-will of the neighbouring powers who might possibly engage in his great designs appeared likewise in his letters, as well as in his whole conduct—whether we consider his extreme solicitude to fulfil all the laws of civility and all the forms of ceremony, the obliging manner in which he treated their ambassadors and envoys, the seasonable presents he made them, or, what is a benefit still more considerable, the care he took to reconcile them amongst themselves, by determining their differences, and thus beginning, with respect to them, to exercise the office of the arbitrator of Europe. His majesty sent me a letter of compliment unsealed, which he thought himself obliged to write to the Duchess des Deux-Ponts,

of Provence, called Serran, attempted to make stuffs of the finest parts of the bark of mulberry-trees; that the making of glass, looking-glass plates, and exact imitations of pearls, and many other manufactures, which the celebrated M. Colbert has since carried to so great perfection, were then set on foot.

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commanding me to send it to her by one of my gentlemen, and with it a present of twelve or fifteen hundred crowns at least, a favour which that princess acknowledged with great gratitude and respect in the letter she wrote to him in return. The Duke of Bar having consulted Henry about his designed marriage with the Princess of Mantua, which had been kept secret a long time, his majesty took upon himself to give the Duke of Mantua notice of it, and despatched immediately a courier extraordinary to that court; though upon this article he carried his economy so far as to reproach his ambassador at Rome for sending him couriers too frequently, and wrote to him to do so no more. The Venetian ambassador took leave of his majesty in November, and received from my hands a very considerable present; I likewise gave another to his secretary; nor did Guinterot, the Duke of Holstein's ambassador, return less satisfied to his master; I showed him the Arsenal and all the king's magazines, and that he might have a token to remember them by, I gave him, by his majesty's orders, one of his finest suits of armour to present to his master.

Clement VIII. died on the 3rd or 4th of March this year.* The news of his death was brought to France by a courier,

* L'Etoile, who cannot be suspected of partiality when he speaks well of the pope and the Catholics, confirms whatever M. de Sully has said in different parts of these Memoirs in praise of Clement VIII. "A pacific pope," says he, "and a good Frenchman: even the Protestants did not hate him, he having always treated them with great gentleness, beyond any of his predecessors, even so far as to grant them passports to go and come freely to and from Rome, which was never done before by any pope. When he died, and long before his death, he was nothing but a mass of corruption, having totally lost the use both of his limbs and understanding; even his hands being putrified and burst, insomuch that when any one came to kiss his feet, which, as well as the rest of his body, were very fœtid, they were obliged to hold up his hands, to enable him to give the benediction." (Journal of the Reign of Henry IV.) Matthieu speaks of him with the highest praise (vol. ii. b. iii. p. 328, and book iii. p. 696), as all the rest of our best writers also do, who find no fault with him, but for his being a little too much attached to his family. It was said of him, "Clement VIII. was a good man, a good prelate, and a good prince;" in opposition to his three predecessors, Pius V., Sixtus V., and Gregory XIII., the first of whom was said to be only a good prelate, the second only a good prince, and the third a good prelate and a good prince. (La Houssaye, note 3, on the 311th of Cardinal d'Ossat's Letters.)

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whom my brother despatched to the king, then at Chantilly, and by letters from the French cardinals whom Henry had sent to Rome the year before, and who were followed by Cardinal du Perron the end of the same year.

There having always been a great intimacy between this cardinal and myself, we corresponded by letters regularly during the whole time that he continued on the other side of the Alps: he gave me notice of his arrival in Rome, in a letter dated the 28th of December, 1604, and wrote to me another the 6th of February following. If he is to be believed, I had gained the friendship of the whole Roman consistory, who could not help praising my conduct towards the clergy, and in everything that concerned the affairs of the Church. In Cardinal Bufalo particularly, ever since the treaty we had managed together, I had a zealous panegyrist at Rome; after his departure from Paris I had written him a long letter, which he showed to everybody, as valuing himself upon the sentiments he knew I entertained of him: I shall not repeat here those praises, too flattering to my vanity, with which this letter of Du Perron was filled; those I have mentioned were introduced with no other design but to show (what I thank Heaven for) that I was never tainted with that bitter furious zeal which the difference of religion inspires. The change of mine was the subject of frequent conversations between the cardinals and Du Perron, who all wished for it with equal ardour; Cardinal Aldobrandini often declared that he never said mass without remembering me; the pope expressed himself almost in the same terms to Du Perron, when he was conducted to audience by my brother: he had a long conversation with him concerning me, and particularly upon the means of working what (in the language of Rome) was called my conversion: it is, indeed, an extraordinary thing that a minister cannot obtain from his own countrymen the same justice which foreigners, who surely have no less reason to hate him, are capable of rendering to the disinterestedness of his conduct and the rectitude of his intentions. Du Perron concluded his letter with telling me that he wished no less earnestly than the other cardinals to see me completely united to persons who esteemed and loved me so much, since I had not (these are his words) "more friends at Geneva than I had at Rome."

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My gratitude was equally engaged by the testimony he bore in favour of my brother, assuring me that he had gained so strongly upon the affections of the Italians that no Frenchman had, for a hundred years past, acquired an equal reputation in Italy.* He acknowledged himself highly obliged to my brother for his politeness in coming with an honourable train of the French and Roman nobility to meet him nine leagues from Rome.

The king had, in an especial manner, recommended to the French cardinals to pay strict attention to the interest of the nation in the approaching election of a pope;† and this injunction was again repeated to them when he was informed, by the arrival of another courier from Rome on the 28th of March, that, according to all appearances, there would be high debates in the conclave, on account of the great number of candidates, each of whom, indeed, was worthy of the pontificate. However, these difficulties were so soon removed, that on Friday, the 1st of April, which was two days after the arrival of this courier, the holy see was filled by the Cardinal de Médicis, otherwise called the Cardinal of Florence, who took the name of Leo XI. The choice falling upon a man related to the queen, and of the same name with her, was a certain testimony that his most Christian majesty was well served by the Italian nation.‡

The king, when the news came to Paris, gave public demonstrations of his joy, which he was desirous should be as general as it was sincere. He wrote to me not to spare his ordnance, and to send orders to my government, and to every other part of the kingdom, to follow the example I should set them in Paris. Messieurs the Bishop and Governor of Paris, the president Bellièvre, and the king's councillors of parliament, the other bishops, and all persons in a public cha-

* This commendation seems not at all extravagant. P. Matthieu, speaking of the services the Count of Bethune did the king at Rome, calls him a man of great abilities for that court (vol. ii. b. iii. p. 681). Siri everywhere speaks of him in the same manner.

† See the particulars of the two subsequent conclaves in Matthieu (ibid. 698) and other historians.

‡ "The making of Leo XI. pope," says Du Plessis-Mornay, spitefully, "cost the king 300,000 crowns." (Life of M. Du Plessis-Mornay b. ii. p. 305.)

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racter, received orders to have *Te Deum* sung, and fireworks played off, in every place under their jurisdiction. It may be truly said, that never had the advancement of any person to the papal dignity been celebrated with greater magnificence. However, this could not prolong for a moment the duration of the pontificate of Leo XI., who lived but a few days after his election, and probably was dead at the very time when these honours were paying him in France.*

His majesty was in some degree comforted for the loss of this pope by the person whom the conclave chose for his successor; this was Paul V., formerly Cardinal Borghese. Two things concurred to his election, which made it highly agreeable to his majesty: the favour the French nation showed him by her cardinals, and his own personal merit, which rendered him worthy of that distinction, and which they hoped to see rewarded by a happy pontificate. Two cardinals, thus successively placed by his most Christian majesty on the papal throne, left Europe no room to doubt of the high esteem he was in with the Italians: the king was sensible of it himself, and the extreme satisfaction it gave him was sufficiently seen by the orders he issued immediately after receiving the news of the new pontiff's advancement (which was on the 25th of May), to celebrate it with the same rejoicings as Leo XI.'s had been, except only that no fireworks were played off; the reason his majesty gave for this omission to those who might possibly be offended at it, was, that this piece of respect had been paid to the Cardinal of Florence as an ally of the royal family: as to the rest, all was performed with the same splendour, and the king himself was present at the *Te Deum*, which he ordered to be sung at Fontainebleau. I received on this occasion three letters from his majesty, of the same date, which were merely ceremonial, upon my different offices, and as a person in a public character; he likewise addressed to the chancellor Sillery and to myself a discourse, in which he gave a relation in form of what had just passed in the conclave.

* He was taken ill on the 17th of April, on his return from the procession to St. John de Lateran, which is made on the new pope's taking possession of his dignity, and died on the 27th.

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Paul V. did not disappoint the hopes that were conceived of his pontificate: the Roman council seemed to pursue exactly the same measures they had done under Clement VIII. Nothing was prescribed to Barberini, who was sent into France in the quality of nuncio, beyond what had been done to Cardinal Bufalo; and he was ordered by Cardinal Aldobrandini, and by his holiness likewise, to address himself only to me, in whatever affair he had to solicit. I know not what Cardinal Bufalo (from whom this advice certainly came) could have said to my advantage, in preference to so many other persons, who carried even to servility their respect and attachment to the holy see. My brother, in a letter he wrote to me at that time, told me I could not too highly acknowledge the obligations I was under to this cardinal, nor repay with too much warmth of friendship the regard and esteem he expressed for me.

This letter of Bethune's is dated November 12th, for he was still at Rome, although he had depended upon returning to France immediately after the pope's installation; but some new orders which he had received detained him, and he did not return till several days after the date of this letter. His holiness so much regretted his being recalled, that he would have written to the king, to entreat he would continue him as ambassador at Rome, if my brother had not prevented him. He had entirely got rid of that appearance of timidity, reserve, and perhaps coolness, which he had shown at the beginning of his negotiation; and as soon as he was accustomed to the business transacted at the Roman court, had changed it into a wise and prudent confidence, from whence he drew all the success he could hope for, in those affairs which were entrusted to him. The pope continued to pay him the highest honours, and gave orders that he should be received and treated with the most distinguished marks of respect in all the cities of his dominions through which he passed. All this I advance with so much the more freedom and security, although upon the faith of Cardinal du Perron, my friend, who thought himself obliged to write to me upon my brother's departure, as this cardinal gave the same account to the king, and represented to him that no one was better qualified than Bethune for a place in the council for

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foreign affairs, in what regarded Italy, as he had a full and perfect knowledge of all that related to that country.*

In this letter, Du Perron thanked me for having supported him with his majesty against those who had endeavoured to disappoint him in his expectations of the post of grand-almoner, which had lately been promised to him; as also for some trifling services his brother had received from me: he added an article relating to La Fin. This man, who has been mentioned in Marshal Biron's trial, had, by an effect of his natural levity of temper, left France, and embraced the Protestant religion. The king, who observed him heedfully, as he did all who had once given room for suspicion, caused him to be stopped in Italy, and imprisoned in the tower of Nonne. La Fin applied to Cardinal du Perron, who had formerly been his friend, to procure him the favour of being carried into France and tried there, if it appeared that there were any just grounds for complaint against him, or, if not, that he should be set at liberty; and Du Perron entreated my interest with the king in favour of La Fin's request.

The letter which, of all that I received from the other side of the Alps, deserves most notice, is that which the pope took the trouble to write to me, and of which, being very long, I shall only give the substance here. As in appearance the pope wrote to me on the subject of my brother, he began with praising, in the highest terms, his conduct, his piety, and his behaviour, full of respect and deference for all the cardinals, and himself, before he was advanced to the pontificate. From this his holiness passed to the regret he felt, that the obstacles I raised to my conversion hindered him from resigning himself as openly as he would otherwise have done to the friendship he had for me. His piety and his zeal furnished him with a thousand motives to persuade me to change my religion; he assured me, that if he were not withheld by the station he filled, he would, without hesitation, come into France, and labour himself to convert me:

* Cardinal d'Ossat himself, though, according to all appearances, far from being satisfied with M. de Sully's behaviour in regard to him, speaks in the most advantageous terms of that ambassador, in his letter to the king of the 10th December, 1601, in that to M. de Villeroy of the 2nd December, 1602, and in some others.

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he proposed for my imitation the example of the ancient counts of Flanders, my ancestors, particularly that of Saint-Alpin de Bethune, for whom he had been told I had a great veneration: to these he added the examples of the first saints, and most illustrious kings of France; which naturally introduced the eulogium of the present king, and afterwards that of Clement VIII., on account of the services I had rendered this pope, for which he thanked me with great warmth of affection, as well as for all the good offices which the apostolical legates and nuncios of his predecessors and his own had received from me. This brief, which was everywhere filled with pathetic exhortations to change my religion, concluded with the most ardent prayers for that event.

I answered this obliging letter with all the respect and deference it deserved, without saying anything upon the article of my change of religion. I was satisfied with praising the virtues and great qualities of his holiness, with assuring him of my profound respect for his person, my readiness to serve him, and ardent desire to be useful to him; my letter was entirely filled with the most grateful acknowledgments for the sentiments he professed for me, and the most earnest wishes for his prosperity; and, without affecting my religion, I forgot no instance of respect due to the character of a sovereign prince, and of that in particular which a whole Church gives to the pope; and therefore did not scruple to make use of the expression of kissing his feet; which doubtless would have displeased my brethren the Protestants. Paul V., upon his receiving this letter, said publicly, that it gave him more pleasure than anything which had happened during his pontificate: he read it twice over successively, saying each time, that I had done him too much honour: he lavished many encomiums upon the style and turn of expression, and said, that my praises of him had robbed him of some of those he had designed to give me. He was eager to thank me by a second brief, if Du Perron himself had not opposed an excess of kindness which might have produced some inconvenience to me. This cardinal was witness of the pope's exclamations in favour of me; for my letter being written in French, he was sent for by his holiness to interpret it. Du Perron still continued to reside in Rome, which drew him into very considerable expenses. He observed to me,

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that, in the space of one year only, he had laid out above twenty thousand crowns, in the expenses of his journeys, his entry, the conclave, furniture, and habits for himself and his household; all which had reduced him to such necessity, that he entreated me to oblige the farmers of his abbey of Lire to pay him, they having refused to make their usual remittances, under pretence of an arrêt of council relating to the claims he had upon certain woods.

All the rest of Italy began to entertain the same favourable dispositions for France as the holy see, except the Duke of Savoy, who was still influenced by the Spanish policy, as may be conceived by the new intrigues carried on this year for the duke's interest, by a man named Chevalier. With regard to Spain, France still continued upon its former footing with her; they were at peace, indeed, but that peace was clouded with disgusts, and embittered by reciprocal complaints.

The negotiations which had commenced between the Spanish court and the States of the United Provinces not succeeding, hostilities were renewed as soon as the season permitted them to take the field. The King of Spain sent to the Swiss Cantons to demand a passage through their territories for the troops he sent into Flanders, that they might avoid taking their route by Pont de Grésin, which would have greatly retarded their march. To obtain the grant of this request, he told them that his troops should pass through their States by twenty at a time, and that their number should not exceed two thousand: he added, however, another thousand afterwards. The king, when he received this advice from Caumartin, believing that Spinola, who was to command their troops, would take the same route, thought it would not be impossible for Prince Maurice, at the head of a party of French scouts, to seize upon this general's person, "which," said Henry, "will be worth one victory." He wrote to me to communicate this hint to Aërsens, and through him to the Prince of Orange; but I was informed almost immediately afterwards, by a Spanish courier who passed through Paris on his way to Flanders, that Spinola had altered his route, and would arrive in Paris in three or four days; which produced such a change of measures, that his majesty thought himself obliged to render his passage as

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secure to him as if he had passed through the French territories. Spinola requesting the honour of an audience with his majesty, this prince believed that he had orders to make him some new proposals. This, however, was an inference not made by me; and when Henry mentioned it to me, I replied that Spinola, thinking the road through Paris the shortest, as well as the securest, he conceived it his duty at the same time to pay his respects to his majesty; and that I was persuaded he would talk to him only of general things, though, perhaps, he wished to have it otherwise believed in Flanders: accordingly it fell out just as I had imagined.

Spinola divided his army into two bodies; he gave the command of one to Count de Buquoy,* with orders to pass the Rhine with it between Cologne and Bonn, where he afterwards threw up intrenchments to hinder other troops from attempting this pass. Whatever was the design of the Spaniards by this work, it ought to have roused the German princes from their lethargy. The other body Spinola led towards Friesland, where the allied army followed him a long time. The report which was spread in July of this general's death, was no better founded than that of his being beaten, which prevailed some time afterwards. It was foreseen that he had a design upon Linghen, although this was a very strong place; and accordingly he marched thither and invested it. By means of a mole which was cut by Prince Maurice, Spinola was himself besieged in his quarters, and his trenches laid under water, so that it was believed he would be obliged to abandon his enterprise, in which case it might be expected that the prince would besiege and carry the Fort Patience. Yet, notwithstanding this, Linghen surrendered in September, which was all that was done this campaign. Spinola was, on the 24th of September, still before the place he had taken, and had carried his views no further than to put himself out of a condition to be attacked. The troops of both parties were greatly diminished: Prince Maurice, on his side, threw succours into Covoërden and Breton, which covered and secured Friesland. Du Terrail, in the mean time, at the head of some supplies sent him by Spinola, attacked and surprised Bergen-op-Zoom; but he was

* Charles de Longueval, Count of Buquoy.

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repulsed with some loss. This man was a French officer, and one of the seditious cabal; he thought proper to retire to Antwerp, and offered his services to the archdukes. His majesty was not so much offended with this procedure (although he had promised him, in a letter he wrote expressly for that purpose, that he would do nothing contrary to his duty) as he was for his having corrupted Dunnes, the younger Nangis, and Chef-Boutonne, who, it was reported, were preparing to go thither with a whole company. A footman belonging to Du Terrail was arrested in Auvergne, whither he had brought some packets, but all of little consequence. He endeavoured to prevail upon his wife to come to him in Antwerp, by highly extolling the friendship and civility he received there. The same example had been set by Saint-Denis Mailloc, and some other gentlemen, who had offered their services to the archdukes, in which they certainly neither acted like good politicians nor dutiful subjects.

This was but one of the least causes of complaint which Henry had against Spain. The support which that crown gave to the French mutineers; the part she had in their meetings at Limousin and Perigord; the enterprises which, in concert with them, she meditated upon the towns and coasts of Provence,—were grievances of a higher nature, and, all well weighed together, his majesty was of opinion that he ought to spare himself the trouble of making them useless reproaches, or of doing himself justice by such means as would have given the Spaniards reason to reproach him in their turn; he was even more solicitous about the strict observation of the last agreements he had made with them on trade, than, after such a conduct, they could have expected. Captain Yvon Baudelonis brought a Spanish vessel into Rochelle, which the commander alleged was Dutch, and belonged to the Prince of Orange; the Rochellers thought it their duty to acquaint the king with it, who in his answer praised their conduct, quoted to them the article of the treaty on that subject, which was in express terms, and caused the same satisfaction to be given to Spain which her ambassadors could have demanded.

The council of Madrid, struggling between their natural haughtiness on one side, and a consciousness of their own

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weakness, and the need they had of our assistance on the other, knew not in what manner to behave to us: the same spirit actuated them in all their proceedings, and made them at one time endeavour to disunite us from the States; at another, to complain vehemently that, under a pacific appearance, with respect to them, we acted as their real enemies. They afterwards affected a strict correspondence with England; but none of their artifices succeeded. The king, secure in the secret knowledge of his own strength, despised their threats; and myself in particular was too well acquainted with the disposition of the King of England, to believe that he would ever do more for them than he could be prevailed upon to do for us.

They were, besides, upon such ill terms with his Britannic majesty, that it was not possible for them long to save these appearances; for as they never stayed a considerable time in any country without giving proofs of that spirit of cabal which they exercised throughout all Europe, James had notice of some of their secret practices in his dominions, which inflamed him with rage against them. Indeed, there needed no less than such a discovery to recal this prince to his first engagements with me, which had suffered some injury during the following years, by that fatal prejudice in favour of pacific measures, which I have already mentioned, or rather by a real timidity. Beaumont, whose embassy was at its close, was surprised to find James resume this subject himself, and talk to him in terms very different from those he commonly made use of. He gave him letters for Henry and for me, and likewise a verbal charge that, when he rendered an account of his negotiation to the King of France, he should insist particularly upon that article which regarded the succession to the empire, which was what he dwelt upon most in his letter to Henry. He exhorted him to join from that moment with him in endeavours to restore to the electors before the death of the present emperor the freedom of election, with all their other rights; and effectually to exclude the son, brother, or most distant kinsman of his Imperial majesty from a possibility of gaining the empire, by preventing any one of them from being named King of the Romans. And, lastly, to have it decreed, that the person,

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whoever he might be, who was to succeed the emperor, should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia.

Beaumont, when, at his return to Paris, he executed the commission given him by his Britannic majesty, told the king that he had a letter from this prince for me, which, as I was then at Châtellerault, his majesty opened. He was desirous of trying if this new policy would find any favourers at court; and for that purpose he communicated this scheme of King James with regard to the empire to two or three of his ministers, but with some reserve: and by way of consulting them upon it, taking care not to give them any hint of his great designs. On this occasion Henry found no flatterers: there was not one of them who did not give a proof that he was capable of opposing a scheme which appeared to him unreasonable and unjust. Henry stopped there, and waited for my return, to examine it more closely with me. But as this conversation turned upon many particulars which appeared of such consequence to his majesty that he made me swear not to discover it to any person whatever, that oath obliges me now to silence.*

* I do not know whether the uncertainty wherein this prince for some time remained, whether he ought not to get himself declared emperor, was not at least a part of this secret. He even thought it necessary to submit this design to the examination of his three ministers, whom he called together to give their opinions on it, as appears from the 8474th vol. of the MSS. in the King's Library, where their deliberations on this matter are related at large. It is remarkable that those three, scarcely in any one instance, happened to be of the same sentiments. In the present case, one advised him to get himself elected emperor; the second dissuaded him from it; and the third (more favourable to the House of Austria) would have persuaded him to act in favour of the Archduke Matthias. "The king," adds the author, "who had attentively listened to this last, rose up, and opening the window to let in the fresh air, raised his eyes and hands towards heaven, and said aloud, 'May it please God to form and create in my heart the resolves I ought to take on what you have said, and men shall execute them! Adieu, gentlemen, I must take a walk.' Thus ended this conference." Though this project did not absolutely clash with his grand design, there is nevertheless a reasonable foundation for doubting whether he actually ever formed it: it is highly probable that the whole was only a feint, concerted between him and the Duke of Sully, to put his council on a wrong scent in regard to the great armaments he was making: the Count of Beaumont, his ambassador at

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Henry, when he gave me my letter from King James, read it to me himself. His Britannic majesty there informed me of the proposal which he had enjoined Beaumont to make to the king, and represented to me the interest I had in supporting it, in a manner which, though general, had nevertheless so direct a view to the reflections I had made to him on this subject, that I could not doubt but he would, from time to time, be more convinced of the reasonableness and utility of that plan of policy I had sketched out to him. I shall not repeat the assurances of friendship and esteem with which this letter was filled. Beaumont was commissioned to make me many more in his name; neither was he forgotten: King James bestowed so many praises upon his personal merit and his skill in business, that raised him highly in Henry's esteem. If this prince had been still ignorant of the confidence his Britannic majesty placed in me, his letter was sufficient to convince him of it: he indeed appeared much pleased with it, and commanded me to cultivate his friendship carefully, a command which I received with great cheerfulness.

We have now seen the political state of almost all Europe, except Germany; there are, perhaps, some observations still to be made upon the several Germanic cantons, but that little which is necessary to be known with respect to our affairs will mix itself imperceptibly with what I have to say of the seditious cabal in France. This article will lead us into sufficient length, as it was the occasion of my journey into Poitou this year, and of his majesty's to Limousin, which took up four of the finest months of the season.

The reader has, doubtless, ere this reflected upon the extravagance of an association composed indifferently of Roman Catholics and Protestants,—the Roman Catholics, Spaniards; and the Protestants, French: a party acting upon interests so opposite, that nothing but continual violence could conciliate them; a body of which the Duke of Bouillon was the head and Spain the soul. In this slight view it appears so singular and monstrous that the reader cannot apprehend any dangerous consequences from a confederacy so ill as-

London, according to Siri (ibid. 166), endeavoured to inspire him with this notion.

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sorted. I, indeed, had always the same opinion of it; but as all parties which engage in repeated acts of disobedience against the sovereign cannot but be very prejudicial to the State, even supposing that they are disappointed in their principal aim, it must be acknowledged that good policy requires we should make use of every method to hinder them from forming, or when formed to ruin them: the disaffected were in this case; they had neither prudence in their resolutions, nor much appearance that they would ever produce any worthy to be feared. However, as it was not fit to suffer such attempts to be made with impunity, his majesty neglected none of the informations he received, and which this year were more numerous than ever. Murat, Lieutenant-general of Riom, wrote to me in the beginning of March that he had very lately been informed of some important particulars, for the truth of which, although he could not answer, yet he thought himself obliged to communicate them to me; and that I might be better able to judge of them, the same person from whom he received them was the bearer of his letter.

As soon as I began to examine this man, I perceived, from the first questions I asked him, that his deposition would involve so many persons of the highest quality at court, that, without going any further, I judged it of consequence enough to require that his majesty should be present at his examination. The king was then at St. Germain. I wrote to him, and marked in cipher which he only understood the names of those persons: he came to Paris immediately, to examine this informer himself, who assured him that all those persons (and he named them) held correspondence in the chief cities on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, all which he specified, namely, Toulon, Marseilles, Narbonne, Bayonne, Blaye, and some others; that the Count of Auvergne was upon the point of making an attempt upon St. Fleur when he was arrested; that all these secret practices were favoured by Spain, and the money distributed for that purpose furnished by that crown. According to this man, the conspirators had already received several thousand pistoles from the Catholic king, expected still more, and even depended upon some supplies of troops; which, however, he said, would not be sent until they had openly

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declared themselves enemies of the State by the invasion of those places before mentioned, and of many other maritime forts.

The truth of these accusations appeared very doubtful, from a circumstance which, it is apparent, did not escape Murat; and this was, that the informer had been a domestic of Calvairac,* in whose house he might, indeed, have heard some conversations on these subjects: but why advance as certain what had been there proposed as merely possible? He had received some bad usage from his master, and doubtless the desire of revenge stimulated him to this proceeding (what cannot that motive do, joined to the hope of gain?), which, it was well known, was so much the greater, as the depositions which were made appeared of more consequence to his majesty. There needed not so many considerations to induce him to aggravate matters beyond the truth.

I can, with much more certainty, relate what passed in the synods and other particular assemblies which were held by the Protestants in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and the neighbouring provinces. In these assemblies a spirit of revolt and mutiny always prevailed; among other very bold proposals it passed by a majority of voices that his majesty's permission should be asked to call a general assembly of the Protestants, without explaining to him the motive of this request, or the subject to be treated of in the assembly. The king, to whom their petition was actually presented, did not refuse to comply with it, but declared (as he had a right to do) that he would prescribe to them the place, the matter, and form of this assembly, and send thither a person to represent himself: Châtellerault was the place he appointed,† and myself the person who was to appear there, with a commission, to take care of his majesty's interests. The Protestants —those, I mean, who fomented the seditions in this body— would rather, I believe, have had their request denied, than granted upon such conditions. They alleged, that, if I joined the title of the king's representative to the quality of governor of the province in which this assembly was to be held,

* John de Sudrie, Baron of Calvairac, a gentleman of the province of Querci.

† Life of Du Plessis-Mornay, b. ii.

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nothing could shield them against the authority I would not fail to arrogate to myself. It may be imagined that, at this time, my brethren expected less favour from me than the most abhorred Papist.

The method which the disaffected had recourse to, was to present another petition to his majesty, signed by two or three hundred persons at least, in which they declared that, upon more mature deliberation, they found it necessary to entreat he would defer calling this assembly. As soon as Henry was informed of this disposition of the Protestants, he had expected to receive another petition from them, and, in a letter which he wrote to me from Fontainebleau, dated March the 30th, he desired I would advise him what to do upon this occasion: I had received the same information as his majesty, and used my utmost endeavours to discover the true state of things; for which purpose, the journey I had taken the preceding year into Poitou was of great service to me; however, nothing appeared to me very positive, except that three or four of the most seditious amongst them had endeavoured to raise some disturbance, but with so little success, that the fires they had kindled evaporated in smoke. I may venture to affirm, that my letters and discourse to the least prejudiced persons in the party, with my solicitude in other respects, had greatly contributed to reduce matters to this point. It was upon this that the advice and the answer the king demanded of me turned.

It is certain, at least, that his majesty never heard more of this second petition, which had made so much noise, and by that he was able to guess the nature of all those other reports: but he still continued to receive, in the beginning of April, so many new informations, and those of such consequence, and in appearance so well founded, that he suffered himself to be driven along with the torrent. It was reported, and that even by the first president of Toulouse, and many other persons in Guienne, that the Protestants, both in that province and in Languedoc, had uttered many disrespectful speeches against his majesty; they added, that these people had resolved to send a deputation to prevail upon him to recal his grant for holding the assembly at Châtellerault. In another letter, dated April 7th, Henry ordered me to come to him the day after Easter, to assist him

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in taking a resolution upon these new letters, and to be present at the reception of the Protestant deputies; and lastly, to explain to them his intentions in such a manner as became his majesty to use with subjects who, in some measure, presumed to give laws to their sovereign. It is certain that, although the king had been willing to take the trouble of doing this himself, he was not in a condition; for, during this whole month, he was afflicted with frequent returns of the gout, which had obliged him to have recourse to a remedy that never failed: this was a proper regimen, which he observed with great strictness during part of the month of May. Of all his council, he had no one about his person but Sillery, and him his majesty did not think fit for such a commission.

All these circumstances I relate from Henry's letter, which he concluded with telling me, that he would permit me to return to Paris as soon as this affair was terminated. In my answer, which I wrote to this prince while I attended his orders for my departure, I represented to him two things, to which, in my opinion, no reply could be made; and these were, that if his majesty would not believe, what however was absolutely certain, that all those informations which were given him either with great mystery or great noise, were nothing but the murmurs of some persons, hired expressly for that purpose in the provinces, he was then much to blame to suffer his peace to be thus disturbed, when it was in his own power to reduce these rebels to silence. It was upon these transactions that my enemies suggested those suspicions of me to his majesty, which produced that disgust I have given an account of in the former book: and it may easily be imagined that, while that disgust continued, he had no inclination to choose me either for his confidant or his agent with the Protestants. My return to favour happened in the manner I have already related; he told me that he could not give a more convincing proof of his being perfectly cured of all his suspicions, than by confirming me in the employment he had at first destined for me. I entreated him to send any other person rather than myself to Châtellerault, invested with his authority, because I was apprehensive of affording, without designing it, some new matter for calumny: but Henry reasoned in a quite different manner; he believed

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that, after what had passed, he owed to himself, to me, and to my accusers, such an incontestable proof of his good opinion of me, as the showing me to the public in a post, wherein the sacrifice he expected I should make him of my nearest interests would set my innocence in the clearest point of view, and silence all malice and detraction; and added graciously, that my enemies themselves had just put him upon his guard against their insinuations, therefore I had nothing to fear. Then, after twice embracing me, with all his usual expressions of tenderness, he ordered me to return to Paris, to put all affairs in such order that they might receive no prejudice from my absence; to draw up memorials of all those which related to my commission; and to compose myself the instructions which I was to receive in writing from his hand, and with the consent of his council.

The king, in the mean time, went to pass part of June at St. Germain. In the beginning of this month a defluxion of humours fell upon his foot,* which he hoped to disperse by the exercise of hunting, taking the precaution to have his boot cut open upon the part affected; while this fit lasted, he was not able to apply to any business, although, as he wrote me word, the preservation of one-half of his kingdom should depend upon it. When his disorder was abated he returned to Paris, where he prepared for his journey to Monceaux, after giving all the necessary orders for my departure.

I put down on paper all the questions I desired to be resolved, with regard to the several parts of my function as representative of the king, the answers to which were to make up the ground of the instructions upon which I had just agreed with his majesty. This paper I sent to Villeroy and Fresne, who returned it with answers to each question, adding, that if I found them satisfactory, I might reduce

* "I went to the Arsenal," says Henry IV., speaking of one of his fits of the gout, "with my wife. M. de Sully said to me, 'Sire, you have money and never see it:' which really is true enough; for I am satisfied with knowing I have money, without amusing myself with the pleasure of looking at it. We went together to the Bastille, and he showed us what was doing there: I assure you at that instant I was attacked by the gout, which brought to my mind the proverb, Those who have the gout have riches." (Matthieu, vol. ii. b. iii. p. 613.)

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them to such a form as I judged proper. I was resolved to have two of these papers, one more general, and the other in the form of a particular memorial, joined to the former; these two papers regulated the manner in which I was to speak and act with the Protestants, as I am going to show.

Upon the first view, the occasion of the assembly at Chatellerault did not appear of such importance as it really was, either with respect to the king or the Protestant body, being granted for no other purpose than to examine the deputies sent by this body to his majesty, the term of whose office was expired, and to appoint others to succeed them, an affair which did not require so solemn an assembly as this was likely to be. But upon a closer examination we shall find, that the real aim of some of the chief heads of the Protestant party was to take advantage of this assembly to extend their rights, and to procure the grant of new favours and privileges; a design which his majesty could not better return, than by seizing likewise this opportunity to recal them with more solemnity to the observation of the old regulations, the wisdom and utility of which were sufficiently evinced by the effects they had produced; and, instead of suffering them to be infringed, to give them new force, and exact a more strict obedience to them; so that after this, the Protestant body in France being persuaded of the rectitude of the king's intentions, and of his firm resolution to maintain his rights, must either resolve openly to despise his authority, or return with sincerity to their duty: this was the principal point of my commission.

To attain this end, I was enjoined to fix their view principally upon the edict of pacification issued at Nantes, as a fundamental piece which might serve them equally for a rule to judge of their conduct towards the king, and of his towards them. I was to show them that this edict, which had suffered so many misinterpretations, being the basis of their liberty, the proof of their fidelity to their king, of their attachment to the public good, and of those sentiments which their religion itself ought to inspire them with; if they observed it exactly, they would neither swerve on one side nor the other, any more than Henry had done, who had religiously fulfilled all the obligations it had laid upon him. The free exercise of their religion, the peaceable enjoyment of their estates and

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employments, the gentleness of the government, the tranquil but solid situation of affairs, daily confirmed and strengthened the security of those promises made by the prince, well known by a long train of effects; and, lastly, by the satisfactory answers he had given to everything of importance expressed in their memorials; all these were so many pledges of faith in him, which the Protestants ought to return by such instances of submission and gratitude as a good and indulgent prince has a right to exact from his subjects: their own interest likewise made it necessary for them to follow this line of conduct, since, if they justly considered the true state of things, it was they only who ran any risks by an infraction.

The inference to be drawn from all these considerations, and which I was ordered to represent to the assembly, was, that they ought to appear far from having a design of demanding that any alteration should be made in the Edict of Nantes; such as that of being empowered to choose themselves a head, either within or without the kingdom, any other than the king himself, who merited that title from them on many accounts. As it could not be foreseen what other demands the Protestants would bethink themselves of making, they left it to me to choose proper arguments either for refusing or eluding them. I was only ordered to signify to them in plain terms, that for the future they must not expect such general assemblies would be permitted; and that this, which his majesty had consented should be held to instruct them altogether in their duty, and to exhort them to fulfil it, should be in the place of that which they had resolved in the last synod of Gap to entreat his majesty to grant them.

The reasons for this cessation of extraordinary assemblies were sufficiently plain: for they were convened either on account of some affairs relating to the discipline of the Church, some matters of law and police, or, lastly, for some favour they wanted to obtain of the king: for the first, the Protestants have their provincial synods, upon which his majesty made no encroachment by abolishing the extraordinary assemblies. All he demanded with respect to them, and certainly nothing could be more just, was, that they should confine their deliberations to religious affairs; whereas, under this pretence, they often treated of such as related merely to the

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civil government. If the design be to settle something relating to the administration of justice and the police, there is no reason for excepting them from the general rule by which all controverted matters of those two kinds are referred to the tribunals of the judges and the ordinary magistrates; and, lastly, those which are matters of favour and depend merely upon the king's indulgence, are to be treated by way of petition and supplication; nothing is more useless than those great expenses and commotions which an extraordinary assembly occasions, for an affair in itself of little importance.

There was another reason for suppressing these assemblies, which, although I cannot disguise, I may soften a little by barely saying that they often gave occasion for judgments not very favourable for the Protestant party; for the public are willing enough to shut their eyes upon wise and prudent determinations, though not to the intrigues of the disaffected, who, in these tumultuous assemblies, remain confounded with persons more equitable, but whose proceedings are less taken notice of. If it should happen that any of these articles, or others of the same nature, were contested at Châtellerault, it was left to me to put an end to them in whatever manner I judged best; and I was even permitted to take those advantages which the profession of one common faith afforded me, to merit their confidence and engage their votes. It was only in cases of obstinacy and declared disobedience that I was obliged to inform his majesty, and suspend all resolutions till I had received his orders, as likewise not to suffer the assembly to break up without leave.

With respect to the article of the deputies, it is necessary to inform the reader that the Protestants always kept two persons of their party at court, one for the ecclesiastical order, the other for the secular; they were to treat with his majesty's ministers, or with the prince himself, upon all affairs necessary to be communicated to him, and to receive his orders concerning them. These deputies entered upon this office by election, which was renewed every three years, when others succeeded to their place. If we go back to the source of this institution, we shall not find that the Protestants had any legal title to this pretended right of residence and nomination of the deputies, which they asserted so strenuously; it was not mentioned in the edicts, nor even in the writings

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that contained these private articles, which were sometimes separate from the treaties; it was only a custom, merely tolerated, and first introduced on account of the resistance some sovereign courts made to registering the Edict of Nantes, and only to be continued till that was done. However, his majesty had no inclination to deprive the Protestants of this privilege: all he required, and this was one of the principal points of my commission, was that, for the nomination of these deputies, they should adhere to one of those two methods prescribed by him to their own deputies when they desired leave to hold the assembly, and, if possible, to the second, by which his majesty expected that the Protestants should present to him the names of six persons chosen from their body, out of which he should name two who were most agreeable to him.

It might possibly happen that the heads of the party would endeavour to elude those regulations which his majesty proposed to get received in the assembly, and for that purpose affect to confine themselves to this single question; an artifice I was likewise to prevent. As to the affair of Orange, which it was certainly expected would be brought upon the carpet (as indeed it was), I had orders to represent to them that Henry had laboured in vain to manage it so, as that this city, which he could not refuse to restore to the Prince of Orange, might by him be left to the French Protestants. All, therefore, that could be done upon this occasion, was to prevail upon Maurice, that in the room of Blaccons, who commanded there, and who himself desired permission to leave it, he would place a Protestant officer as his lieutenant, whom they might oblige to take the oath of obedience to his majesty. I shall resume this affair in the sequel. Such were my general instructions, dated July 3rd, 1605, and signed "Henry, and Forget."

All the difference between these general instructions and the particular memorial joined to them, consisted in this, that the latter made no mention of the declared object of the assembly, but was confined to some other questions which might probably be discussed there; and tended to prevent those designs from being effected, which it was suspected the heads of the cabal would endeavour to get the multitude's approbation of. This detail, which was not inserted in the

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first writing, because there was a probability of its being needless, was, however, of great use to me; and it was upon that account that I made a separate memorial of these instructions.

They imported that I should not suffer the assembly, either in their debates or in writing, to advance anything injurious to the pope, or to stir up again that trifling doctrine of Antichrist, worthy of the synod of Gap, where it had taken birth; that no person should have a seat in the assembly in the quality of a deputy, from any individual whatever, not even from Lesdiguières himself; that they should not, as they had done in that synod, receive letters from foreign princes, particularly from the Duke of Bouillon. It seemed of importance to his majesty that an ungrateful subject, such as Bouillon, should be publicly known to have rendered himself unworthy of any favour from his sovereign. The manner in which others, who might be ranked in this class, should behave in the assembly, was to regulate the treatment they were to receive from me.

If the quality of president of the assembly, which his majesty earnestly wished they would confer upon me, and which, on this occasion, he would not have been offended with me for accepting, should not be sufficient to give weight to what I said to them I was to join to it the authority of governor of the province; and, as opportunities offered, and the dispositions of their minds required, I might give them to understand that the king was not ignorant of the designs of the seditious Protestants, provided that from thence they did not conclude he was informed of the places where they were carried on.

There was so much the more appearance that the article of the cautionary towns, given to the Protestants, would be discussed, as the term to which the possessions of these places was prolonged by his majesty was now nearly expired; and if this should happen, I was to hint, either to the assembly in general, or to the deputies in particular, that, provided his majesty found in them that readiness to comply with his measures which he required, he would willingly agree to a further prolongation. I had orders not to give them any absolute assurances of this favour, but to mention it as what might be granted, and to promise I would obtain it of his

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majesty. Although I had then in my possession the letter of grant for that prolongation, I only obliged myself to keep it secret till I received the king's commands to make use of it.

As to those fortified towns which had been given to the Duke of Bouillon, and which from thenceforward were to have no share of the funds destined by the king for their maintenance, they were to be declared for ever excluded from that advantage, as likewise from all hope of ever being paid the sum promised by the Edict of Nantes for the support of the garrisons. This sum, at that time, amounted to five hundred and seventy-three thousand four hundred and thirty-two livres, of which ninety thousand livres had been already cut off. Nor were they to expect a new appropriation for those funds which had been assigned them. I had already received some petitions upon these several suppressions, to which I always answered that I thought this proceeding of his majesty absolutely just. Lastly, by this writing I obliged myself to do nothing without Henry's advice, with whom, from that moment, I began a regular intercourse by letters, most of them very long, and several in cipher. This memorial is dated July 4th, signed by his majesty, and countersigned by Villeroy. Two days afterwards I set out on my journey.

Queen Margaret's residence at the Castle of Usson gave her frequent opportunities of hearing news of the rebels; and as soon as she was informed that I was upon the road to Poitou, she thought herself obliged to acquaint me with all the particulars that had come to her knowledge; she had likewise some affairs of her own to impart to me, which I shall take notice of after I have related those which concerned my journey. For this purpose she came from Usson to Toury, from whence she wrote to his majesty, telling him the motive which had induced her to take this step, and the earnest desire she had to confer with me. I had left Paris, taking my route through Rosny and Lavinville, two hours before the messenger who brought this letter for his majesty, and another for me, arrived. The king, seeing by his own letter and by mine what this princess desired of him, sent La Varenne after me on the 9th of July, to deliver me a letter from him, in which he told me that he should be glad

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if I would visit Queen Margaret, although I should be obliged to leave the road to Châtellerault and go back as far as Orleans. La Varenne gave me the letter Queen Margaret had written, dated from Toury, July 7th, by which I learned that this princess waited for me between Paris and Orleans; and that I might not fail to meet her, she sent Rodelle, her master of the horse, to desire I would come as far as Orleans, if I did not meet her before on the road; but she spared me the trouble of going so far, for upon my arrival at Cercote, I was informed that she was there likewise. My wife having accompanied me to Rosny and Lavinville, I brought her to Cercote with me, that she might take advantage of this opportunity to pay her respects to this princess.

It was still so early in the morning when I arrived at Cercote that Queen Margaret was not up; however, she ordered me to be admitted into her chamber, where I had the honour to confer with her a full hour before she arose. We resumed our conversation after she was dressed, and spent the whole day in the same manner. I shall not repeat the polite and obliging things this princess said to me; but what I had been told in general by Murat concerning the civil factions, was minutely particularised to me by her and Rodelle. They named a great number of persons of the first quality in Provence and Languedoc, and even some of the relations of the Duke of Montpensier and Cardinal Joyeuse, who were engaged in the conspiracy: some of these persons had been in the secret of Marshal Biron's designs, and had afterwards joined themselves to those whom they found determined to pursue them. The revenge of this marshal was not one of their least motives, and they made use of the same methods he had done to excite a rebellion among the people. Besides those towns which, as we have seen, the conspirators endeavoured to surprise, they had views likewise upon Beziers, Narbonne, and Leucate. All these informations Queen Margaret and Rodelle offered to support with evidences so clear, as would not, they said, leave me the least room to doubt of their certainty. I gave his majesty an exact account of what I had heard, in a letter I wrote to him from Cercote, dated July 14th. I likewise sent him a list of the conspirators' names, as I had received it from Queen Mar-

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garet and Rodelle; but I still persisted in my former opinion, nor in all they had said to me did I find occasion to alter it.

It is certain, however, that these informations were too circumstantial and well supported not to merit some belief; for Rodelle had been himself of the cabal, and had left it only through a reflection upon the rashness of all their measures. He told me that La Chapelle-Biron, and above thirty other gentlemen of his acquaintance, had taken the same resolution to leave the cabal and inform his majesty of all they knew, provided they could be sure of obtaining the pardon they would implore of him; that they had applied to him to take this step in their favour, and this he proved by the letters they had written to him for that purpose. He added, that they had violent suspicions that my journey to Poitou concealed a secret design of seizing them; that they had prevailed upon Queen Margaret to declare their intentions to me, and the earnest desire they had to efface the remembrance of their error, by their future fidelity and services to his majesty. All this was sufficiently clear, and I had no doubt of it remaining; but they endeavoured in vain to persuade me that the whole kingdom was in a flame, while I saw only an inconsiderable number of rash zealots, whom it was easy for his majesty to crush, whenever he would condescend to treat as a serious matter a design which deserved only derision and contempt. For what remained, as often as I attempted to examine strictly into these informations, in appearance of such weight, and supported with such proofs, I always found that the false greatly exceeded the true.

In this, however, Henry was of an opinion contrary to mine: he thought the slightest disturbance within his kingdom merited all his attention, "because," said he, "the French were ever fond of novelties, and eagerly admit every change." He often complained, in his answers to my letters, that some of his other ministers had as slight a notion of the present evil as myself: he was more confirmed in his apprehensions, when a memorial from Vivant fell into his hands, which exactly agreed with all that had been told me by Queen Margaret and Rodelle. He despatched orders immediately to Vivant, to send him the person from whom he received those informations; and to me, to make, in concert with Vivant, as soon as I arrived at Châtellerault, the strictest

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inquiries into everything that concerned this cabal. Vivant being one of the Protestant deputies to the assembly, this quality might possibly render me suspected by him: the king, however, had taken care to obviate this difficulty, by writing to him that he might place an entire confidence in me. The letter passed through my hands, with a precaution that Vivant should not be named in the affair, lest, by losing his credit with the Protestants, he should not have it in his power to serve his majesty effectually with them. As to Rodelle, and the other gentlemen before mentioned, Henry approved of the resolution I had taken with Queen Margaret to send them to him: he heard what they had to say, gave them his orders, and sent them back to perform the promises they made him, to labour there for his service. This prince never regretted any expense which these emissaries and informers put him to.

Some of them had intercepted the copy of a letter written to the Duke of Bouillon, by one of his confidants, whom they suspected to be Saint-Germain de Clan, and brought it to the king: this perhaps was the cause of his increased vigilance. I shall give an account of this letter here, that the reader may be able to judge whether the inferences that were drawn from it at Monceaux were altogether just: it made part of the packet which Henry sent me from that place. Saint-Germain, or whoever this correspondent of Bouillon's was, by this letter endeavoured principally to persuade him that it was necessary he should send some person in his name to the assembly of Châtellerault who might support his interests there; or at least write a letter which his friends might produce. The very considerable part the duke acted among the Protestants, the necessity of proving his innocence, and the advantage to be acquired from showing how much he suffered for the common cause, the general interest of the whole party, his own credit to be maintained with foreigners, the solemnity of this assembly, and the example of that of Gap, were so many motives which in the beginning of this letter were urged with the utmost earnestness to move him.

The rest was a confused mass of conjectures, inferences, and precautions, on the subject of this assembly; all intended to prove, that the Protestant Church had nothing to hope or expect but from his efforts alone. The author of this letter

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supposed that Henry had totally forgotten all his former promises; and that he openly sacrificed the Protestants to their most cruel enemies: as proofs of which, he alleged the connexion between the king's council and that of Rome, the immense sums which, he said, were expended to make a pope, the rejoicings for his election, and the favour the Jesuits enjoyed, sufficiently shown by the demolition of the pyramid. He afterwards considered what, in the present circumstances, might be the result of the assembly; and presaged nothing but misfortunes, as well on account of the timidity of the party, as the artifices the king would make use of to obtain his ends.

Here I began to appear upon the scene, and it may be easily guessed what sort of figure I made. According to the author of this letter, I had proposals to make which could not fail of removing all difficulties; among others, that of prolonging the time for the possession of the cautionary towns. Saint-Germain hoped, contrary to his first hopes, or rather to remove Bouillon's apprehensions, depended upon all my artifices with respect to the choice of the deputies failing, and reasoning his own way upon the struggles he supposed I should have in my mind between my conscience, which could not yield to adopt the policy of the council, and my ambition, which would not suffer me to make the pope and the Papists my enemies, he sometimes saw no probability that I would take upon myself a commission which I could not execute to the king's satisfaction, without betraying my religion, without exposing myself to unavoidable disgrace. He likewise saw nothing but obstacles and difficulties in such a commission, which I should never be able to surmount. As he did not know that his majesty, besides leaving the general places of security to the Protestants, would consent also that the individuals of that body should keep those they were at present in possession of; and believing that this circumstance alone was sufficient to alienate their affections, he triumphed in my perplexity and confusion: he alleged, that the king had said the person whom he should send in his name to the assembly would have nothing to do but to declare his will there. Upon these words he affirmed boldly, that rather than go to any place in my government where the people would not pay me the honours I thought due to me, nor even allow

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me to be present at their consultations, I would find reasons to get myself dispensed with from taking that journey; or at the worst, if I should go, Saint-Germain engaged to the Duke of Bouillon that all my authority should not hinder the assembly from giving his letter a respectful reading, or his deputy an honourable reception.

The misfortune was, that the weakness of this duke's partisans was a point so generally known, that, notwithstanding all this show of confidence and ostentation of power, his friend was obliged to confess, that the coldness of the provinces, and the neglect of the party, with respect to him, were very great. And having thus spared the duke's confusion by these softened expressions, he approved of the caution which Bouillon had been the first to advise should be used when he was mentioned, which was, not to make any demand for him in his name which was the least liable to opposition; but confine themselves to remonstrances from the Protestant body in general, upon depriving him of his places, refusing him justice, his banishment, and the persecution he was exposed to on account of his zeal for his religion. He considered what danger might be apprehended from a letter written in this form to the assembly, and finding none, although they should even pay no regard to it, and, supposing the worst, sacrifice it to the king, he exhorted the Duke of Bouillon to write such a one, giving it as his opinion that it should not be made public at first; but, being read on a sudden to the assembly, derive some advantage from those first emotions of compassion which it was likely to excite. He added, that the party would look upon it as a stroke of great consequence for the duke, if the letter, instead of being presented to the assembly by one single person, should be brought thither by the deputies from the Upper and Lower Guienne, where his fortresses were situated; or that they should appear to have undertaken the commission of themselves, or, what was still better, by the orders of their provincials.

This was the letter which made so much noise at court. To the packet his majesty sent me, Sillery thought proper to add a letter from himself upon this subject alone. Sillery was the person whom Henry kept near him, and who was then employed as well in reconciling the Prince of Conti

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and the Count of Soissons, at that time at variance with each other, as in the affair of Orange, which, according to the advices which his majesty received from Lesdiguières and others, was taking an unfavourable turn. When I read the copy of this letter to the Duke of Bouillon, I was convinced that the court would take a false alarm at it. I saw nothing in the contents which did not confirm me in my opinion that the seditious party was very inconsiderable, careless, unsteady, destitute of all resources, and far from any intention to undertake any enterprise of importance; and that Bouillon, who had more experience than the rest, would not engage in such extravagant schemes as were successively proposed to him, schemes without order or connexion, and leading to no fixed end, since there was nothing but confusion to be expected from them. In a word, amidst that false courage which is inspired by great presumption, and notwithstanding that affectation of fine policy, I thought I could plainly perceive disunion among the members of this body, and despair in its leader. I therefore persisted in my former opinion, and declared my sentiments freely in the answer I sent to Monceaux; although, probably, by doing so, I rendered my sincerity a little doubtful: but I comforted myself by the reflection that those suspicions would, at most, last only till the discovery of this mystery, which would be effected by the assembly at Châtellerault.

As for the other assertions in this letter, I can assure the reader that I never felt those struggles and perturbations of mind which the writer of it, and many other persons, attributed to me upon the choice I was to make between serving my prince and my religion; since, in reality, in this affair, I saw no foundation for making such an alternative. A common prejudice prevails among all sects of religion; a man is never supposed to be a sincere professor of the one he has embraced, unless he supports it obstinately, even in points where it is most visibly wrong. Upon this footing, I confess, the method I was determined to pursue might, by the author of that letter, and those who judged like him, draw upon me the epithets of false brother, deserter, and, if they pleased, traitor: however, it was not the approbation of such as those that I proposed to obtain, but of persons who, of whatever party or religion they were, would, in their judgment of my

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conduct, preserve the balance of equity and disinterestedness. If ever religion admits of the assistance of policy, it ought to be of a policy pure, simple, and upright as itself; any other may indeed appear to serve it, but does not in reality, and, sooner or later, never fails to ruin it.

Having determined to be guided by no other principle in my transactions with the assembly, I thought I could not too carefully avoid all appearances of affectation or disguise in my conduct, that those who were influenced by an imprudent zeal, or actuated by a spirit of cabal, might have no hopes of gaining or seducing me: therefore, from the beginning, I showed myself solicitous to support, on this occasion, that character by which all France was to know how I would act on every other; that is, of a man as sincerely attached to the true principles of the Protestant religion, as incapable of drawing the false conclusions which many of the Protestants did, or of approving their irregular proceedings. The speech I made at the opening of the assembly, which lasted half an hour, was wholly calculated to produce this effect, without troubling myself to consider whether I would give pleasure or offence to the greatest number.

I began by representing to them that, among so many persons blindly devoted to the will of the prince, his majesty would not have fixed upon a person to treat with them whose unshaken constancy to his religion was so well known, if he was more solicitous to support or increase his rights, than to persuade their judgments and gain their hearts; that this reason was sufficient to make them place an absolute confidence in all that I should say or do, since I certainly had not waited for this moment basely to betray my religion. But I declared to them, at the same time, that they must expect to see me as zealous for the interest of my prince, when it did not injure what I owed to my religion and the general good, since it was incumbent on me to justify to his majesty himself the choice he had made of me; and to support, in the sight of the whole kingdom, the reputation of a prudent and upright minister, which I flattered myself I now enjoyed. I invited them to share this honour with me, observing, that here honour and good policy were the same. This point, indeed, I found most difficult to persuade them of; and when they heard me assert that their

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cautionary towns had no defence but their own good inclinations, they, instead of taking my words literally, looked upon them as a paradox, or a figure in oratory.

Nothing, however, was more certain; and to show the Protestants that the first foundation of their policy was false, I entered upon the discussion of this principal point: that is, the keeping of their towns, in which they fancied their greatest strength consisted, and concerning which, as I was informed, they were incited to make very earnest and very bold representations to his majesty. I showed them that the great number of little paltry places which they held under this title, was so far from being advantageous to them, that they would hasten their ruin, if ever an attempt were made upon them by a king of France, the present king especially, to whom many of their officers were attached; because that, not having any fortress so mean, or governor so inconsiderable, who would not pretend to the honour of making some resistance, it must necessarily happen that their tolerable cities, which were about ten or twelve in number, would suffer greatly from the useless dispersion of their soldiers and ammunition, and from time to time fall into the hands of their enemies. I did not even except Lesdiguières, their Achilles, provided that he waited for this extremity, to separate himself from them: in reality, without judging too rashly of this officer, it might be confidently asserted, that the only religion capable of fixing him, was that which could secure him in the possession of his riches, and the authority he had always exercised throughout his province. Some other proofs of his being but slightly attached to the doctrine of the Protestant Church might be produced. I am obliged to discover in this manner the real principles of Lesdiguières, because it was one part of my commission to show that the most secret dispositions of the party were not unknown.

The conduct of Du Plessis was very different, but still more to be pitied. This man, in whom an ardent zeal for his party held the place of experience and military virtue, had taken it into his head to fortify his castle of Saumur, and did it in such a manner, that to defend it would require a garrison of eight thousand men, with ammunition in proportion. I desired to know where Du Plessis would procure

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all this, should he be attacked unexpectedly; and added, that what I said to them was not by way of information, since I was not ignorant that they were condemned to know this truth, by the result of the deliberations in their provinces as well as by their own losses; but only to show them that the king's council reasoned justly upon their situation; and that if, notwithstanding this knowledge, they were left in peace, that consideration ought to increase their gratitude and affection for the prince their benefactor.

I then proceeded to acquaint the deputies with his majesty's intentions, in a manner that would admit of no doubt or equivocation; that they were for the future not to receive in their synods, or even in their houses, any deputies or letters from foreign princes, cities, communities, or French lords; namely, Messieurs de Rohan, de Bouillon, de Lesdiguières, de la Force, de Chatillon, and Du Plessis, because the king would not suffer any affairs of importance to be treated of in his kingdom without his participation. That upon no pretence or reason whatever, they were ever more permitted to hold any assembly like those they had formerly held; but if they had any request to make to his majesty, they were to apply to the deputies, who were allowed to stay at court for this purpose, and that it should be expressed in the *cahier* of their province. I declared to them, that if they pretended, in this assembly, to take resolutions contrary to these orders, besides the other inconveniences to which they would expose themselves, they must expect to see me make use of all the power annexed to my commission, and all the authority granted to a governor in his province, to bring them back to their duty. This was the substance of my speech to the assembly; leaving it to them to settle at leisure the affairs of the deputies, and the cautionary towns.

This speech, and particularly the declaration with which I concluded it, gave great offence to many deputies of the assembly; it occasioned several warm disputes in their private consultations, and four or five deputations to me. Those whose interest it was that the assembly should not proceed to more essential affairs, desired no better than to waste the time in this kind of preliminary questions, and protracted them on purpose. But with a little industry, and some address, I put an end to this useless prelude. The

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king highly resented their not choosing me president of the assembly; though afterwards, altering his opinion on that head, he had advised me not to accept of it. He thought that, upon several considerations, I merited this honour from them; and said publicly, with great resentment, that on this occasion the Protestants had given an equal proof of their disregard to the public good, and jealousy of me; but it is certain that I was the first, and even the only one, who made any objection to it, and this for reasons which I wrote his majesty word I would tell him myself, and with which he would be satisfied.

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BOOK XXII.

[1605.]

Continuation of the account of the assembly held at Châtellerault—New artifices of the Duke of Bouillon—His letters to the king and the assembly—Imprisonment of the Luquisses—Different advices given to Henry IV. concerning the seditious—Rosny's opinion of these advices—Rosny disconcerts the schemes of the Protestants at Châtellerault—He concludes everything at that assembly to the advantage and satisfaction of the king—The affairs of the deputies general—Affair of the cautionary cities, &c.—His advice is not regarded in the affair of Orange—Dismisses the assembly—Declares the king's pleasure to them—And returns to give an account of his proceedings to his majesty—Henry's journey to Limousin—Rosny accompanies him thither—Turenne, and the other places belonging to the Duke of Bouillon, surrender to the king—His majesty's return—Rosny holds the chamber *Les Grands Jours*—Meirargues and the two Luquisses beheaded—Death of Theodore de Beza—Rosny quarrels with the Count of Soissons on account of some privileges annexed to the post of master-general of the ordnance—With the Duke of Epernon on account of the city of Rochelle—Henry's reception of the deputies of this city—Rosny's return to Paris—Account of his proceedings—Queen Margaret arrives at Paris—Her reception from their majesties—Memorial of Rosny upon duels, wherein he explains the origin and the different customs of duelling—Henry's blamable indulgence in this respect—The good and bad fortune of this prince.

THE general assembly of the Protestants at Châtellerault was already opened, when the king received a letter from the Duke of Bouillon, which was brought by a man named Russy. In this letter Bouillon acquainted his majesty, that a league was actually forming among the German princes against the house of Austria; and that these princes, being desirous of strengthening themselves with the power and assistance of his majesty, had fixed upon him to be a mediator between the king and them. On their part, he promised a full security to the king and kingdom: and on his own, he offered, with an effusion of the noblest sentiments, to assist

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this design with his person and forces, expressing great joy at his having found an opportunity so often hinted at by Montluet, when, in writing to him by the king's orders, he told him, that it was by real and effectual services, and not by words only, that for the future he could persuade this prince of the purity of his intentions.

Henry, on the receipt of this letter, was neither much moved in favour of the Duke of Bouillon, nor greatly pleased with the pretended scheme. Far from accepting an offer in appearance so favourable to his designs, he was apprehensive of raising an insurmountable obstacle to the execution of them by too great precipitation; besides, the snare which Bouillon laid for him was too thinly disguised to produce the effect it was designed for. Nothing could be more improbable, than that the German princes should choose Bouillon to act the part of a mediator and reconciler, he who was himself considered by the council of France as a criminal. Henry therefore contented himself with telling Russy, in answer to this letter, that the duke's informations were too indefinite, and came too late. Bouillon would certainly have expected very little success from this artifice, if he had known that a letter, which he had written to the Protestants assembled at Châtellerault, fell at the same time into his majesty's hands. This letter was a kind of answer to that which, as we have observed, had been lately sent to Bouillon by Saint-Germain de Clan, and, it was well known, was designed for him: though, in one part of it, he mentions Saint-Germain as a third person. By the contents, it was plain that the letter he wrote his majesty from Germany was indited with no other view but to induce the king to treat him more favourably in the assembly, and to hinder him from suspecting the true motives of his conduct.

The Duke of Bouillon, in his letter to Saint-Germain, did not lose sight of his quality of chief of the party, since it was written with an intention to regulate the proceedings of the assembly. The nomination of the deputies was the article first and principally considered in it; he gave his opinion of each of those persons who might pretend to this office, such as La Nouë, du Plessis, Bellujon, and Saint-Germain himself, in whose favour he gave his vote for continuing him in his employment, from which he was now discharged, and in-

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terested himself so much in it as to exhort the Protestants to unite their endeavours to make the election fall upon him: he bestowed great praises upon La Noue, but recommended it to them to give the preference to Saint-Germain, the office which the first exercised at Geneva so usefully for the party affording a plausible pretence for excluding him from the deputation, without which it is probable he might be offended. He spoke of Du Plessis as of a man too obstinately attached to his own opinions, and able likewise to make himself be listened to and respected by Lesdiguières, which seemed to the duke so important a point that he considered the want of that power in Bellujon almost as a crime. Bellujon, he allowed, had understanding, prudence, and address, and, next to Saint-Germain, had the best claim to the deputation. The perfect agreement between those two might, indeed, produce miracles; but Bellujon's attachment to Lesdiguières was, in the opinion of Bouillon, a stain in his character which could not be effaced; he would have done better to have owned freely, that he was jealous of the reputation Lesdiguières had acquired in the party. Another fault which Bouillon attributed equally and without exception to all the candidates for the office of deputy, was that attention they discovered to their own interest, which he considered as no objection, because of its being so general.

Bouillon next proceeded to speak of himself; and here vanity dictated every word. He informed Saint-Germain, that it was reported in Germany that the king was desirous of being reconciled to him, and that Parabère of Montluet, would be soon sent to him for that purpose; and to remove all suspicions of the truth of this assertion, he sent him a letter which, he said, Montluet had written to him, in which he desired him to apply to some person who might be able to effect a reconciliation between Henry and him. From all this Bouillon drew a thousand consequences, upon the consideration they had for him in Germany, the great advantages which the Protestant party received from him, and the fears with which he inspired the king and his council; he was not willing to leave his brethren in doubt that he would not hear all the propositions his majesty made to him, through an apprehension that they were only snares which were laid for him, to deprive him of the authority he had acquired

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among the people. He passed lightly over the article of sending some person in his name to the assembly, and spoke of it as a thing subject to difficulties; and upon which it was necessary to consult Lesdiguières, du Plessis, and Saint-Germain. But he dwelt with a peculiar satisfaction upon the solemn assemblies which were held at his house, composed of all the most distinguished persons in Germany, asserting that the Protestant religion must necessarily receive the highest benefit from them. By the resentment he here discovered against Lesdiguières, it was judged that the latter had declared his sentiments of these so much boasted assemblies a little too freely; but the Duke of Bouillon, to give a just idea of their extreme utility, assured his party that the sole apprehension of what might be resolved upon there was sufficient to disturb Henry's repose, and make him use every method to gain him. He added, that he had been often reproached by the persons who composed these assemblies, with not having made the court of France sufficiently sensible of the advantage she possessed, and had received offers from them to take this trouble upon themselves; but that he had opposed this effect of their zeal, by representing to them (with wonderful modesty) that the jealousy which Henry entertained of him being the true cause of the difference between them, their intercession would have no other consequence than to augment that jealousy, and prejudice themselves, without serving him. The only method by which Henry could be brought to reason (which he insinuated was the opinion of this whole assembly of friends, as well as his own) was to reduce him, through fear of what he might undertake, to a necessity of granting them whatever they desired.

All the notice this very singular letter deserved (if it be granted that it deserved any) was, to make use of it to prevent some demands which it was probable might be made in the assembly; for as to the rest, whom could Bouillon expect to impose upon by his arrogant boasts? There is no necessity for seeking any other proof than what these ridiculous rodomontades afford, that the seditious party had made no preparations, either within or without the kingdom, for a revolt; that they did not yet understand each other's schemes, nor had come to any explanation concerning their

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common and general interest. With regard to this pretended new league in favour of the Protestants, there was good reason for thinking of it as Lesdiguières did: in one word, that it was the mere invention of Bouillon. Caumartin never mentioned it in his letters to the king, although he had a conference with the Landgrave of Hesse concerning everything that related to the Duke of Bouillon; and all the landgrave desired to know of him was, if the king had really employed Montluet in the expresses his majesty had sent to Sedan. The reason which induced the Landgrave of Hesse to ask this question, was a report which had been spread in Germany, that his most Christian majesty was endeavouring to get possession of Sedan by surprise, and to abolish the Reformed religion there. It was plain that this report was raised by Bouillon himself, who, taking occasion from thence to gratify his hatred of the king, insinuated at the same time that this city was so strong, that Henry could have no hopes of taking it but by stratagem; this was, indeed, to possess the art of uniting together presumption, malice, and falsehood. All the Duke of Bouillon's talents might be reduced to a great fertility of invention, and consummate dexterity in spreading reports disadvantageous to his enemies. Of the same kind was that which prevailed concerning the resolution taken by the Swiss assembled at Baden, contrary to the interests of France, and which proceeded from the same person; it occasioned for a short time some apprehensions in the kingdom, as the business mentioned in the former year, in which the leagues of the Grisons were employed, still remained unfinished; but when it was found that Caumartin, who would not have failed to have informed the king of it immediately if it had been true, was wholly silent concerning it, there was sufficient room to believe that it was only an invention of those whose interest it was to raise a belief that our affairs did not go on well in those cantons.

I could have wished that his majesty had shown the same contempt for the informations of those mercenary spies, whose numbers began to increase to such a degree, that they became chargeable to the government; and I freely own that I regretted the large sums which were disbursed to pay this kind of service, which, on account of the interest those from whom it was received were governed by, either with regard

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to themselves to augment the garrisons of a city, or to procure a considerable gratuity, was greatly suspected by me. A certain man gave information of an assembly which had been held at Puy-Laurens in the Upper Languedoc; he gave in a memorial of what passed there, and likewise assured us that he himself had been present. Another officer or soldier of Quercy prevailed upon Vivant to send him to the king, because he said he had been solicited by a friend of his at Sarlat to seize Domme in Perigord; and declared the names of those who had spoken to them both upon this subject; this determined Henry to send Themines thither to see the persons accused. All these informations were afterwards found to be either false, or excessively exaggerated. It was not my opinion that all precaution should be neglected; on the contrary, I was the first to advise the king to send some trusty persons to reside in Perigord and Quercy. The king, to whom I was not accustomed to speak in this manner, conceived great apprehensions from it, and I was obliged to assure him that I had received no bad news from either of these provinces.

But the method I would have preferred to all these little inquiries, as being both the shortest and most secure, was to give from time to time, and as occasions offered, examples of severe punishment, as was the sentence against the Luquisses, two gentlemen of Provence. It was resolved at the Arsenal, that before I went away an attempt should be made to seize them; for which purpose the king made use of Ranchin, physician to the constable, who amused these disturbers of the public tranquillity so artfully, that the Chevalier Montmorency seized nine or ten of the party all together, with their two leaders, and confined them in the prison of Aigues-Mortes. They were so indiscreet, that, amidst the confusion caused by their first surprise, they confessed themselves guilty of carrying on criminal correspondence with Spain. Henry, fully resolved to punish them, sent the Chevalier de Montmorency and Ranchin, at their return from this expedition, to Chantilly, to tell the constable that he must come the next day and prepare matters for their trial. On this occasion, the Governor of Aigues-Mortes and the Sieur de Saint-Genis rendered considerable service. It was this plot which made his majesty renew his design of taking

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a journey this year towards Provence, and the report of an armament of galleys being fitted out by the Spaniards at Naples was a second inducement. However, I saw no greater reason now for taking umbrage at this armament, than before, the Spaniards making almost the same preparations every year on account of their trade to the Levant.

The king was again informed that some of the leading men in the assembly sought only to prolong the time in useless debates, to the end that I might quit it through weariness, or that affairs of another kind might suffer by my absence; and that to effect this they had resolved to make use of several pretences, such as sending the deputies directly to the king to propose their demands, or to bear their general thanks, as if the assembly was looked upon as useless. Henry ordered Parabère, who was going to his government, to confer with me concerning this report, relying wholly upon my diligence to despatch the business of the assembly with speed, but at the same time completely; to effect which I had already resolved to take measures, so much the more likely to succeed, as they flattered the vanity of the deputies. His majesty also commanded Parabère to assist me in my endeavours to discover the authors of those intrigues, but he would not venture to trust him with the secrets of most consequence; and even when he sent him to me to act in concert upon a certain memorial, he thought it necessary to send me this memorial by another hand, that I might have time to examine it, and take such measures as I thought proper, before the arrival of Parabère. Henry did not act in this manner through an apprehension of his failing in his duty, but Parabère had one fault, which is only so with respect to politics, he could never believe ill of any one; and another, which is generally joined to the former, a readiness to contract friendships with all sorts of men, whether ill or well affected to the government. He was never moved with anything that was said concerning the French faction; and as often as the king mentioned the Duke of Bouillon in his presence, he never failed to justify his innocence, and attributed all the crimes that were alleged against him to the malice of his enemies. It was on account of this prepossession that his majesty discovered to Parabère all his displeasure against the duke, but assigned as the cause of it his

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former practices only, without giving any hint to him of the more recent proofs he had of his disobedience; it was my part, also, to regulate my conduct with Parabère upon this knowledge.

Setting aside all that was reported to the king, let us now see what really passed in the assembly. The first meetings were as tumultuous and disorderly as I had expected they would be: the disaffected party assiduously applied themselves to embitter the minds of others, and prepare them for revolt, because they thought it would be more difficult to inflame them afterwards, if they suffered the assembly to take a peaceable turn. They, therefore, had recourse to their accustomed arts, and industriously confirmed the false reports they had raised, that the king was going to abolish their privileges, cancel their synods, to take advantage of the present assembly to declare all the pensions he was accustomed to give to the ministers of the Protestant religion struck off from the accounts of his revenues. Henry, when he complained of the aversion of the Protestants for him, and for those whom he employed in affairs of state, used sometimes to say that they deserved to be deprived of their pensions, offices, and governments. These words were reported to the assembly, as proceeding from a fixed resolution, and were construed into a positive declaration.

As I was not ignorant from what source these envenomed allegations proceeded, after having represented the falsehood of them, I resolutely opposed their making any demands in this assembly, in the name or on the part of Bouillon, Lesdiguières, and Du Plessis; nor would I suffer any person to speak there but those who had a claim to that privilege by their quality of deputies from the provinces. I caused it to be privately intimated to Du Plessis that I left it to his choice either to stay voluntarily from the assembly at Châtellerault, or to come there as a mere spectator and as a private individual. This mortified him extremely; but he adopted the first expedient, either that, despairing of success, he was willing to avoid the blame of any resolutions taken in his absence, although contrary to all his schemes, or that he promised himself some resource, or perhaps vengeance, by procuring an insurrection in the assembly in his favour. In effect, he so engaged the deputies from Dauphiny in his in-

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terest, that they exclaimed nothing could be done without him. But I took my measures so well that I made the presence of Du Plessis as unnecessary as that of Bouillon. From him I expected no less than such an instance of resentment; but that Lesdiguières should debase himself so far as to act, by his emissaries, the part of a clamourer in favour of a man so justly in disgrace with his majesty; he who lately had received a distinguishing favour for Créquy, his son-in-law; this was an instance of meanness and ingratitude which I could with difficulty pardon in him. On all these occasions I saw the utility of having taken proper steps, long before the meeting of the assembly, to secure to myself the best part of the votes.

In proportion as I saw my party gain strength I exerted my authority; I cut short all trifling and subtle questions; I insisted upon their proceeding to business, and, above all things, to look upon everything which related to the royal authority as sacred: the violation of that was what Henry most apprehended, and indeed his fears were not wholly groundless. It will be an eternal stain upon the reputations of Bouillon, du Plessis, d'Aubigné, Constant, Saint-Germain, and some others, more especially Lesdiguières, that they set their hands to a paper, the certainty of which has been but too well proved, wherein they lay the foundation of a Calvinist republic, free, and absolutely independent of the sovereign, in the heart of France. These terms, indeed, are not used in the writing,—they seem to have industriously avoided them; but terms are of no consequence where the thing is plainly meant: and I ask those very persons, what was to be understood by the establishment of a body the leaders of which were as closely connected with each other as separated from every one else and from the provincial councils, to which the supreme general council gives laws? What was meant by the assistance they there endeavoured to procure from foreign powers, the obligation they imposed upon all governors and men in public offices to take certain oaths which were prescribed to them? And, lastly, by their excluding the Roman Catholics and officers particularly attached to the king from any post, dignity, or employment in the new party? Du Plessis, who had apparently some reason to be apprehensive of my declaring to his majesty the share

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he had in this writing, thought it necessary, when the result of the assembly rendered the scheme ineffectual, not to incur the danger of being silent upon it; therefore, when he sent an apology to the king for not being present at the assembly, he added a formal disavowal of everything contained in that paper.

This scheme was among the number of those whose execution it is necessary to hinder with as much caution as possible; I was willing, therefore, to know whether a great part of the Protestant body were made acquainted with it, and continued to adhere to it: I mentioned it to the deputies, but in general terms, under the title of an association, and complained of reserve and distrust, which, however, I made them sensible was not wholly free from blame. Their answer was, that if Henry could live for ever the Protestants, satisfied with his word, would, from that moment, renounce all precaution, resign their cautionary towns, refuse all offers of assistance from foreigners, and consider all particular regulations for the preservation of their community as useless; but that their fears of finding very different sentiments in his successors obliged them to take measures for their own security. This frank confession gave me more pleasure than an artful answer would have done; for if the assembly had been concerned in the project, they would not have confined themselves to answer only the literal meaning of my words, but would have begun with refuting this reproach by every kind of protestation and by a formal denial.

I was now convinced that the contagion of seditious discourse and wicked example had not yet spread further than to those six or seven persons whom I have named; but it was not so easy to make Henry believe it, or to remove his apprehensions that the evil would soon become general; he suffered himself to be greatly alarmed with that blind facility with which the populace receive every impression given them by those whom they look upon as their leaders and defenders, and the fatal consequence which might ensue from it if, unfortunately for France, he should die while the Dauphin was yet a child. He sometimes told me that on this occasion my particular interest was strongly connected with that of the public, as being one of the chief officers of

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the crown, and appointed lieutenant to the company of his second son, if God should give him one, as soon after happened. But all things considered, what could Bouillon, wandering and despised, Du Plessis with his pen, the Constants and the D'Aubignés with their tongues, be capable of doing against an authority so solidly fixed as that which Henry was now in a condition to leave to his son? The uncertainty of the royal succession had always been, in my opinion, almost the only danger he had to fear.

I mentioned this affair to the deputies of the assembly as opportunities offered, without postponing the principal one which I had brought first upon the carpet, which was the nomination of the particular deputies. The Protestants claimed a right to nominate these deputies themselves, alleging that his majesty was not concerned in it; but I convinced them of their mistake by representing to them that his majesty, as king, ought to have the principal part in an affair which had so necessary an influence upon order and tranquillity, and was so closely connected with the civil government, that upon the character of the deputies who were chosen depended, in a great measure, the good or bad intelligence between the two religions; and this I supported by an example drawn from the thing itself, which was the artful and disingenuous conduct of some of those who had formerly exercised this employment.

To decide this combat of different opinions, I proposed that the assembly should determine upon a certain number of persons proper for this office, among whom the king should choose two he most approved of; and, notwithstanding the repugnance I perceived they still had to this expedient, I did not despair of obtaining a compliance with it, as I had very considerable gratuities to dispose of to those who acted conformably to his majesty's intentions. But here Henry himself raised an obstacle, without attending to it: he had judged, by the unanimous opposition the assembly made to this point, that I should never be able to carry it, and therefore wrote to me to consent that the two deputies should be proposed and chosen in concert by him and the Protestants, a concession which only increased the obstinacy of the assembly; for whether his majesty declared publicly the contents of his letters, or that those to whom he confided

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them did not keep his secrets, all the intentions of this prince were as soon and as perfectly known in the assembly as in the council itself. Villeroy sent me notice of it, but I knew it before; for this cause I insisted that Sillery and he should always write to me with their own hands: a precaution which I observed myself, and was sometimes so much fatigued by it that I was obliged to refer them both to the letters I wrote to his majesty, which they took care afterwards to burn. However, I carried my point in the assembly; six persons were to be proposed to his majesty, from among whom he was to choose the two deputies; and I likewise managed it so as that in these six there should not be one who had given any public marks of disobedience or revolt. Henry looked upon this success as one of the most important services he could have received from me.

Some of the deputies requested that a third deputy should be created, and this deputy to be always one of the Protestant ministers. It was said that Berault used his utmost endeavours to obtain this office, and intended to come to the assembly for that purpose, though he was not one of the provincial deputies; he had also, it was confidently asserted, many schemes to accomplish, especially in favour of the Duke of Bouillon; and he was the person who prevailed upon the assembly at Mauvesin* to write to the duke to assure him that the Protestant party in France had still, in all their proceedings, an eye to his person and interest. However, Berault, bold as he was, durst not show himself upon this occasion, and the proposal was absolutely rejected, as was likewise another, which three or four persons ventured to offer, that the Protestant party should choose deputies themselves, which were not to reside near the king, but in some parts of the chief provinces in the kingdom, and correspond immediately with the deputies-general at court. If this scheme had taken place, there would have been a necessity for redoubling our attention to the conduct of these subordinate deputies.

His majesty never made any objection to the quality of the deputies, provided they had the reputation of being men of probity and lovers of peace; and upon this he carefully

* In Armagnac.

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avoided everything that had the appearance of constraint, as was evident when it was debated whether governors of fortresses might be appointed deputies; the king yielded to the arguments urged by the assembly for the negative; and also on the subject of La Nouë and Du Coudrai, whom the Protestants would not have placed in the list, alleging the absence of the first and the employment of the second; however, they all afterwards agreed upon La Nouë. As for me, I gave my vote for excluding Saint-Germain, notwithstanding the extreme desire they showed to have him continued with Bellujon, as his coadjutor. The king neither approved of the latter, nor even of Coudrai; but being willing to show some respect for Lesdiguières, he was inclined to choose the deputy from the province of Dauphiny. Des Bordes and Marabat were also proposed; his majesty had a long time wished to do something for Marabat, although I assured him he was one of Bouillon's creatures; but he altered his intention when Marabat, by imprudently sending his two children to the Duke of Bouillon, left him no room to doubt of the truth of my assertions; and this alone was sufficient to exclude him from the deputation. Of all that were proposed for this office, there was not one who so well deserved to have all the votes in his favour as an advocate of Castres, named La Devése; but the reputation he had justly acquired of virtue and impartiality, was alone sufficient to render him obnoxious to his brethren; he gained nothing but the honour of having merited the confidence of his king, who wrote him a letter, which I delivered to him with the utmost secrecy, lest it should entirely ruin him in the opinion of the Protestants. When I became better acquainted with him, I looked upon him as a man whose knowledge and abilities might be of great use to me. The remainder of July was spent in proposing, choosing, rejecting, or approving the different candidates.

The choice of the deputies continued to be debated with the same heat during the first part of the following month. The assembly renewed their solicitations in favour of Saint-Germain and several others, to whom Henry would have even preferred Marabat; but as a detail of these disputes is not sufficiently interesting to deserve any longer time should be taken up with it, I shall conclude it at once, by saying

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that La Nouë, having promised his majesty, by Roquelaure and me, that he would break with the Duke of Bouillon and recal his children from Sedan, the king chose him from among the three persons proposed for the nobility, and Du Cros from those for the gown, who had Lesdiguières to solicit for him. This choice, which was very agreeable to Henry and highly praised by his ministers themselves, was made very seasonably to stop the mouths of some slanderers, who reported that the king, after receiving a letter from me, appeared so greatly enraged that it was evident his design did not succeed well under my management. One trifling letter served them for a pretext to propagate this story. In my answer to Villeroy, who sent me a copy of it, I told him that there were no persons who gave so little credit to this report as those who spread it.

As to the success of this affair, the glory of which was attributed entirely to me, I shall freely own, without affecting a misplaced modesty, that I accomplished my designs by convincing the greatest part of the Protestant body that they might safely rely upon Henry's intentions and sentiments with respect to them for the preservation of their persons and interests; and that those few examples of severity, or rather justice, which they complained of, were greatly disproportionate to the injuries he had received from them. I would not have it imagined that by speaking in this manner I gave the Protestants the least hint of those favourable designs for the party with which the mind of Henry was then employed: to serve a prince at the expense of his secret was to betray him. I was even particularly cautious upon this subject with his majesty's ministers; and I do not know that I ever mentioned it in any of those letters I wrote to Henry himself, except one, in which I made some reflections upon the embassy to England that were necessary to the subject I wrote upon: however, I earnestly entreated him to burn this letter, lest the same accident should happen to it as he knew had done to others.

What his majesty had most reason to complain of in the affair of the deputies, was, that his intention of appointing them himself, in the manner we have just seen, being signified to the assembly, seven Protestant provinces met together, and sent to consult Du Plessis upon this resolution;

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a fault which Henry, with good reason, attributed to Constant and D'Aubigné. The last solicitation which was made by the Protestants on this subject was, that the duration of the deputies' service with his majesty should be regulated by them, and be expressed in the brevet of election by the king, or at least in the act of nomination: had this been granted, there would have been a necessity for renewing this ceremony every year, and for calling an assembly for that purpose. These very motives induced the king to refuse it, for which I had already prepared them. At length they received the brevet in the form it was in, but not without returning many times to the charge.

The affair of the cautionary towns came next under consideration: although the term of eight years, expressed in the brevet of August, 1598, given in consequence of the Edict of Nantes, wanted yet a year of being expired, yet it was necessary to bring it upon the carpet this year, if we would avoid giving the Protestant party a pretext for holding an assembly the next. It is certain, however, that it would not have been proposed at Châtellerault on any other terms than to have this matter left entirely to the king, without requiring a promise for three or four years, or a new brevet from his majesty, but that the assembly should be informed in the same way I have just mentioned, not only that they might expect every reasonable indulgence from Henry, but also that I had actually at that time in my possession a brevet from his majesty for three years, and another for four: and it was upon this account that the king found himself obliged to grant them a prolongation for four years. It may be alleged, that a year more or less was a very inconsiderable matter; and indeed Henry had no other view in laying a stress upon it than to accustom them not to obtain whatever they should take it into their heads to demand, and to be contented with those favours he voluntarily granted them: as for what remained, there was nothing more certain than what I had said to them in the beginning of my speech to the assembly with regard to those forts. Henry permitted me to inform the deputies that it was at my solicitation he granted them this favour.

The two questions of the greatest importance being decided, the assembly might be looked on as at an end; but as

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there were alterations to be made in the brevets, of which I was the bearer, his majesty would also have an article added, by which he declared that the first eight years were to commence from the day on which the Edict of Nantes was registered in the parliament. Some time, therefore, was taken up in composing these two brevets, and sending them to Châtellerault.

During this time the affair of Orange made noise enough to afford a subject for public discourse. In order to restore this place to the Prince of Orange, its lawful master, it was necessary to withdraw Blaccons,* who held it for the Protestants; and here the king made use of Lesdiguières, but so unseasonably that I believe all the difficulties which were found in the management of this affair owed their rise to this choice: any one but Lesdiguières, whom Blaccons had reason to think his mortal enemy, might have easily effected it. Blaccons, who had long expected orders to leave Orange, wrote to me that nothing could prevail upon him to neglect obeying his majesty's commands immediately but the mortification and disgrace of being obliged to yield his post to a man who would make that ceremony an occasion of triumph over him. In my answer to this officer I thought I was entitled to give him hopes that his majesty would alleviate the bitterness of this order, and I flattered myself that if I had been at court the affair would have been terminated otherwise; but Henry did not write to me concerning it till he had sent Bullion and Bellujon with his commands to Lesdiguières, which he informed me of in his letter, and desired I would send the necessary orders for carrying cannon to Orange. I suspected what had happened when I received this letter, and instantly acquainted the king with what I knew of Blaccons' sentiments. I advised, I even entreated him to send only an inferior officer of his guards to Orange upon this occasion, without setting up Lesdiguières against the man he hated.

My advice came too late; Lesdiguières, making use of the power the king had given him, listened to nothing but his hatred to Blaccons, and in an imperious manner signified his majesty's orders to the governor and inhabitants, adding of

* Hector de la Forêt de Blaccons.

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himself that if he did not obey them he would give the king notice of it immediately. In the mean time he wrote to his majesty, on the 24th of July, that he need not be under any apprehensions, because he knew how to reduce the governor of Orange without raising any commotions in the province. May it not be said that Lesdiguières was afraid he should not find resistance enough? Blaccons, who did not expect such an insult, instantly despatched two couriers, one after another, to the king, to assure him that he was ready to resign the place to any person his majesty thought proper, even although he were a Catholic. His views, by taking this step, were to prevail upon the king to alter his resolution of sending Lesdiguières, by the advice of those whose interest with his majesty he relied upon, and to suspend Lesdiguières' march, who he did not doubt would be with him as soon as possible. Blaccons had more enemies at court than friends; they thought this procedure showed a strong disposition to rebellion, and they inspired Henry with the same opinion, which was certainly not very kind and disinterested on their side.

The king, however, notwithstanding all the violent counsels that were suggested to him, would not proceed suddenly to extremities with Blaccons: he answered him by sending an inferior officer of his guard, who was a Protestant, with three or four archers of the guard, to signify to him, that, till further orders, it was his majesty's pleasure he should put the place as a deposit into the hands of this officer, and come himself to court, where he might depend upon receiving from his majesty the most honourable treatment, and all the satisfaction he could desire. Henry at the same time ordered Bullion to tell Lesdiguières, that if Blaccons submitted to this last order, he was to stay peaceably at Grenoble, and not to have recourse to force, except in case the governor should refuse to obey: for which purpose he sent him commissions to raise ten companies, consisting of one hundred men each; to make use likewise of five companies of Du Bourg's regiment, and to increase them from sixty to two hundred men, with cannon in proportion. All these preparations were made in consequence of the courtiers persuading his majesty that Blaccons would not submit to his proposal. Lesdiguières, who had already sent the king word that the

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cannon of his province of Dauphiny had no carriages, desired some might be sent to him; or rather, because that would take up too much time, that he should be furnished with cannon from the arsenal of Lyons, which might be easily sent down the Rhône. It was apparent that he had no inclination to strip his own fortresses. Accordingly the king wrote to me to send orders to the lieutenant-general of the artillery of Lyonnais and Dauphiny, conformable to the demands of Lesdiguières. It must be confessed that the king, in his transactions with the Protestants, took such measures as might make it appear to them that he was wholly guided by justice and moderation. But I could not approve of these extraordinary preparations, nor this needless expense; therefore, though I paid all the respect I ought to do to the orders his majesty gave me, yet I thought it my duty to oppose the desires of Lesdiguières, especially in what related to the cannon of Lyons, which seemed to be much better in that city than in any one of Daupliny.

It appears strange to me that Henry should be so long in perceiving that Lesdiguières only sought to be authorised in pursuing with the utmost rigour a man whom he hated with inveteracy. He did many things of his own authority as soon as he thought he had some appearance of justice on his side; so that the state of affairs was quite altered before his majesty's couriers arrived. He was already at the head of a body of troops within two leagues of Orange, from whence he haughtily summoned Blaccons to receive him into the city. Bullion, when he returned from Dauphiny, endeavoured to justify Lesdiguières for taking this precipitate step (to call it no worse), saying, that he did it with an intention to begin immediately to make proper regulations in the castle, to disband part of the garrison, and send away some soldiers levied by the officers of the Prince of Orange. It was not, indeed, surprising that Lesdiguières should thus exceed his commission; Blaccons no longer viewing him in any other light than as an enemy, who prosecuted his own particular quarrel with him, gave him such an answer as obliged him to retire in some disorder to Montelimart. Lesdiguières, fired with resentment at the disgrace this retreat brought upon him, observed no regard to truth in the letters he wrote to his majesty to inform him of all that had passed,

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but accused Blaccons of everything his rage could suggest. Blaccons likewise sent a courier to his majesty with complaints against Lesdiguières; he accused him with having for a long time sought to make himself master of Orange by means of a correspondence he carried on with a minister named Maurice. The friends of Lesdiguières retorted this crime upon Blaccons, which they said they could prove by a letter he had written to his brother-in-law at the very time that he was making protestations of obedience to the king; and that while he sent a polite message to Lesdiguières, assuring him he was ready to receive him into the city, he was forming resolutions directly to the contrary. I will not answer for the truth of either of these accusations.

However that may be, whilst this quarrel delayed the conclusion of the affair of Orange, that of the assembly of Châtellerault was terminated. The arrival of the two brevets, which his majesty had ordered Fresne to send me, gave great satisfaction to the assembly; they were dated August the 4th, 1605. It appeared that the king granted them to the Protestants as a favour which ought to confirm them in the respect and fidelity they owed him. When I delivered them to the assembly, I declared that it was his majesty's pleasure they should break up, after first hearing from me the king's last intentions, that the people might be no longer kept in suspense in the provinces, where I was sensible the different reports concerning the result of the assembly gave occasion for commotions equal to those when two parties are ready to come to blows. I enjoined the deputies, when they returned to their provinces, to give a sincere and candid representation of the manner in which the king and his ministers had acted and treated with them, and carefully to avoid that arrogant behaviour and that propensity to slander which they had shown in the assembly of Gap. I made a recapitulation of all the king's orders and demands, and justified each. I prevented their composing before they separated a new memorial of demands; and in the king's name, expressly forbade them to call any general assembly without permission; I told them that his majesty would never refuse them that favour when the occasion required it; but I made them sensible, at the same time, that they must not expect them to be so frequent for the future as they had been. I forgot

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not to add, that Henry did not thereby intend to prejudice in any manner their right of holding their ordinary conferences and synods, confined merely to affairs of religion; and concluded with repeating my prohibition to them to hold any correspondence with persons suspected by his majesty. I was entirely satisfied with the inclinations I perceived in them, and was not deceived in my conjecture that the assembly would propose to send a deputation to his majesty, to thank him for the indulgence he had shown them, and to assure him of their inviolable respect. They were desirous of first knowing whether this step would be agreeable to his majesty, and the answer they received being such as they had hoped for, the deputies appointed for that purpose set out for Paris to execute their commission.

I left Châtellerault the same day that the assembly broke up, the king having ordered Sillery to acquaint me that I might do so; and often expressed his wishes for my return, and how necessary my presence was to him in the affairs of his council. This prince would write to me once more, though it was only to praise and thank me for the service which he said I had done him. But however solicitous he appeared for my return, yet he gave me permission to visit my estate of Berry, which I did not then think proper to do, because I would not accumulate more business than I was able to despatch.

Such was the issue of the assembly, which had engrossed the attention of the whole kingdom. When I strictly examined my own sentiments concerning it, I found that the despair into which my proceedings there had thrown some of my brethren, did not interrupt the joy I felt for my success; because I was convinced that I had more effectually served my religion and them by moderate and peaceful measures, than they could have done by their blind and impetuous zeal. Du Plessis might possibly have felt the force of these reasonings in the letter I wrote to him; though my principal view in writing was to show him his errors. He justified himself in a very studied letter, which he likewise sent to the king along with mine, to show that he had not left one of the heads of my accusation unanswered or uneffaced.

I went immediately to give an account of my conduct to

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the king. His majesty, when he left Monceaux, where he had some slight fits of the gout, had returned to Paris the latter end of July, from whence he went to St. Germain to pass the beginning of August; he was there afflicted with a defluxion, which fell upon his cheek and teeth, but was cured immediately by having his gums lanced; this indisposition obliged him to drink the waters, and observe an exact regimen, which was his most effectual remedy. I found him at Fontainebleau, whither he had come from St. Germain; he embraced me twice with great tenderness, and permitted my secretaries and all my retinue to pay their respects to him; and after once more folding me in his arms, he led me into the long gallery of the garden of pines, where we had a conversation which lasted two hours.

His majesty began it by informing me of all the interesting news he had received from foreign countries, and afterwards of everything that had passed during my absence, either in the council, in the affairs of the finances, or in the court, where his domestic quarrels, which were resumed with more violence than ever, made him often wish, he said, that I had been with him. He questioned me in my turn upon several particulars of my journey, especially concerning the dispositions of the Protestant churches and some of the heads of the party, whom he named to me, as I might now have a full knowledge of them. I gave him great joy by the proofs I brought him of a voluntary submission from those persons, which in all the rest secured to him an unavoidable obedience; I made it plain to him that Lesdiguières, whose troops, forts, money, and capacity were greatly exaggerated, who disturbed the tranquillity of his master, through a fear that his equivocal conduct would terminate in open rebellion, was nevertheless so weak in every respect, that if his majesty, with an army of only six thousand men marched directly to him without stopping at any place, he would drive him immediately to his last intrenchment, where nothing could prevent his falling into his hands. At present, it was not proper to proceed to such extremities with Lesdiguières, as he had not yet given sufficient cause for it. I represented to the king that it was now time, and of the utmost consequence for the extinction of the rebellion, to undertake something against the Duke of Bouillon, by using only the precaution

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of not putting Protestant lieutenants into his towns in the room of those who were leaving them; I engaged my word that there was not one of those fortresses which would give us the trouble to batter it with our cannon.

These considerations determined Henry, although still with a little difficulty, to defer no longer his progress into the southern provinces of France, which has already been mentioned. His two motives for this journey and for taking his route through Auvergne and Limousin, were to seize all the towns belonging to the Duke of Bouillon, and make such severe examples of those who were convicted of conspiring against the State, as should stifle for the future all seeds of rebellion. For the first, he sent commissions to the Duke of Epernon to levy three thousand foot; he added a like number to his regiment of guards, and gave orders that a squadron of eight or nine hundred disciplined companies of horse, as well gendarmes as light horse, should be got ready to accompany him; for the second, he proposed to hold an extraordinary court, the arrêts of which he designed to have published, and executed by a chamber of justice which he carried along with him, that nothing might retard the course of his justice. These terrible preparations were indeed absolutely necessary in the provinces, where it seemed as if the contagious air of civil broils was concentrated, when it was entirely dissipated everywhere else; this step likewise was necessary to bring the business of Orange to a conclusion; nor could it be made in a more favourable time, the affairs of Flanders and England this year affording him leisure, but which could not be of long duration.

I observed to the king, that since it was necessary this journey should be terminated before the end of the month of October, it ought not to be delayed a moment longer. Henry still thought I pressed him too much: however, he at length resolved upon everything. It was agreed between us that his majesty should march along the Loire with his troops, both horse and foot; while I, with a train of artillery, consisting of two cannons, two culverins, and two demi-culverins, should march by Montrond, which is the direct road. I left to Henry's directions everything that related to the troops, and returned myself to Paris to settle the affairs of the council with all possible expedition, and to name the

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members of the chamber *des grand jours*,* whom it was necessary to send away first.

At court and in the council it was supposed this journey would terminate in the same manner as that to Provence had done the year before. The orders which were given for so sudden a departure in a season still further advanced, furnished the indolent and sensual courtiers with a thousand new arguments against it; but when they saw that Henry was inflexible, they prepared to follow him, often cursing the man whom they supposed had given him the advice; but it threw the Duke of Bouillon's partisans into the utmost consternation, who had not, as may be easily imagined, used any endeavours to divert the storm. La Chapelle-Biron,† and Giversac, who were most faithfully devoted to him, as having received the most Spanish gold, entreated the Sieur de Foussac‡ to go to court, and assure his majesty that they were ready to give him any testimony of their obedience which he should require. The people of Turenne alone made any show of resistance. Rignac§ and Bassignac threw themselves into that place, provided it with ammunition, and lodged all the artillery in it upon the platforms. These advices were sent to his majesty by Foussac and Baumeville, who despatched the Seneschal de Brive with them; but all this was executed with so much terror and dismay, that the king, who had given D'Epernon and Roissy‖ orders to advance thither before him with their troops, did not think it necessary to strengthen them with the regiment of guards, as he had at first intended.

Foussac gave also some other informations, conformable to what had been said by Rodelle, concerning the state of the revolt in the provinces of Limousin, Périgord, and Quercy; and by him it was discovered that the true cause why a great many gentlemen did not come and throw themselves at his majesty's feet, as they had intended, was, that L'Aubagnac

* An extraordinary sessions, called by virtue of the king's commission or letters patent.

† Charles de Charbonnières, Lord of La Chapelle-Biron; Mark de Cuignac, Lord of Giversac.

‡ Raimond de Sognac, Lord of Foussac.

§ Peter de Rignac; Gideon de Bassignac or Vassignac.

‖ John-James de Mesmes, Lord of Roissy.

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had been sent from Sedan to dissuade them from taking that step; and that many of them had also lately received considerable sums of Spanish money, which had been distributed among them by Guienne. The Duke of Bouillon, in whose name this money was given, recommended them at the same time not to be discouraged or alarmed at the preparations which were making against them, since he engaged his word to make things take another turn before October; and that his friends (those were his terms) should see him sooner than they hoped, and his enemies sooner than they desired: these sounding expressions effectually imposed upon them. Foussac, however, assured the king that there had not come more than ten or twelve thousand crowns from Spain; but Bouillon always supplying the want of money with confidence, had given them to understand that this small sum was sent to them to be distributed amongst their subaltern friends, and that other sums far more considerable were reserved for them; they were simple enough to believe him, and after this no longer talked of soliciting for a pardon. The king ordered two hundred crowns to be given to Foussac for the expenses of his journey, and sent him back to continue on the spot.

The king left Paris on the 15th or 16th of September,* escorted by the regiment of guards, and the squadron I have already mentioned, and began his march towards Orleans, while I took the route before agreed on. He had not got further than Hallier, before he saw the good effects of his journey; two gentlemen of Quercy, named Causse and Brigantin, came to meet him at this place to implore a pardon for themselves and a hundred and twenty other gentlemen; and that they might in some degree merit it, they offered to discover in a court of justice all that they knew of Bouillon's proceedings, and maintain the truth of their depositions with the points of their swords, and at the expense of their blood. These two deputies revealed likewise all the plots which had been carried on by Bignac and Bassignac in the Duke of Bouillon's favour; among others, that of seizing

* In regard to this journey of Henry IV. to the Limousin, see De Thou, book xxiv.; the "Mercure François," anno 1605; and the original of a letter written by Henry IV. to M. de Rosny. (Letters of Henry the Great.)

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Villeneuve in Agenois, for which Bouillon had not the least plausible pretext. It being at this place that his majesty had first received notice of the attempts made by D'Entragues to deliver the Count of Auvergne from his confinement in the Bastille, as I have related in order, he desired me to meet him at Orleans, which he expected to reach the next day, being Saturday, September the 24th, advising me to send the artillery in the mean time to Argenton, through which place he proposed to pass. These orders, however, were not executed, it being impossible for me to go to Orleans; his majesty approved of my reasons, and I gave him in writing the advice he demanded of me, which was conformable to those measures I had always solicited him to pursue with regard to D'Entragues.

Henry arrived at Orleans on the appointed day, and left that city on Monday, the 26th of September; he avoided the road through Berry and Sologne, on account of the scarcity of provisions in that barren country, and the diseases which he was told prevailed there; he therefore marched towards Blois, and from thence to Montrichard, again appointing a rendezvous with me at Loches, expressing an earnest desire to confer with me personally upon the present state of affairs. Hitherto he had not received any marks of submission from the Duke of Bouillon; on the contrary, the resistance of Rignac and Bassignac in Turenne and Sincerai* was confirmed. From Metz he had advices that Bouillon would have assistance from another quarter; the elector palatine, it was said, had, upon the report of the king's expedition, sent for his colonels and captains, and the governor of Luxembourg was making preparations and assembling forces. D'Epernon incessantly pressed the king to advance, and demanded, with some kind of displeasure, officers and provisions for the recruits, which he said he had raised with great difficulty. His majesty referred this business to me, desiring that I would give proper directions thereupon to D'Escures, or the other officers and inhabitants of those places; and with regard to Bouillon, he held himself prepared for resistance, although he hitherto saw no appearance of it.

* Or St. Seré.

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In effect, this prince had scarce reached Blois before he received a courier from the Duke of Bouillon, who brought him a letter dated from Sedan, September the 20th, in which, after making his usual protestations of grief for having offended his majesty, and of his intentions to repair his fault at the price of his blood, he declared that he had never entertained the least thought of disobeying his orders, or resisting his person; that he had given an absolute command to his lieutenants to receive him into all his towns and castles—a needless order, he added, since there was not one person belonging to him who did not look upon his majesty as his sovereign master; that he desired nothing more ardently than to have brought him the keys himself, and, with the utmost humility, implored to be again received into his favour. The king appeared satisfied with this procedure of Bouillon; however, he represented to him that he ought to have sent Rignac and Bassignac, against whom such heavy crimes were alleged, to justify their conduct personally. Blanchard was the man whom Henry was most desirous of seeing, as there was no person in the world who had a greater share of Bouillon's confidence—he being his steward—or was better acquainted with the steps of the whole party; but he did not appear. Henry therefore thought he ought not to discontinue his march, at least till he came to Limoges, that he might see how far the Duke of Bouillon's lieutenants would carry their obedience. However, Blanchard arrived at Blois before his majesty left that city; and what added to the king's satisfaction, he came voluntarily, and with an intention to obtain his pardon by making a faithful confession of all he knew.

In effect, Blanchard unfolded the whole mystery of the plot; he acknowledged that, seconding with all his power the bad intentions of the duke his master, he had been always obliged to have recourse to the mean artifice of exaggerating facts, enlarging views, and making promises a thousand times greater than he well knew could ever be performed; so that the execution of their designs had always been as remote as they had affected to say it was near. This deposition of Blanchard appeared to his majesty to be of such consequence, that he ordered him to give it him in writing. He began at length to be convinced of the justness of my opinion, which he had so long opposed, namely, that the Duke of Bouillon's

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party made all this noise only because they could do nothing more. Notwithstanding this, Henry would neither stop nor lay down his arms till his will was complied with without any restriction. He remembered that it was said among the Protestants, that the places the Duke of Bouillon possessed did not belong more to him than to the whole party, having been given as cautionary towns, and held as such by officers of the Reformed religion; he feared, therefore, that he might make use of this pretext to keep them, and thought it the securest way not to disband his troops till Villepion, whom he had appointed to take possession of Turenne in his name, had been received into that capital of Bouillon's. I had written to La Caillaudière that he might disband the cavalry; his majesty made me revoke this order; and in the beginning of October he left Blois and proceeded to Tours, having again altered his design of marching through Montrichard and Loches.

The convenience of the river and of the Castle of Plessis determined the queen, who had attended his majesty to Blois, to go as far as Tours with him. The king, when he informed me of this alteration in his march, sent me word that, as soon as her majesty should leave him to return to Paris, he would continue his route through La Haye as far as Châtellerault, where I had appointed to meet him; all which was accomplished. In proportion as his majesty advanced, all difficulties fell before him. Villepion was received into Turenne without the least disturbance, and before Henry reached Limoges the whole of the other towns depending on the Duke of Bouillon were yielded in the same manner to the officers his majesty sent thither to represent his person. All this was conformable to the duke's example, who continued to declare loudly that he had no hand in the commotions of the province, and that he had been accused through mere calumny. Bassignac distinguished himself by his obstinacy; for, cutting his beard, and disguising himself, he fled through Geneva to Sedan.

Nothing more remaining to be done by arms, the chamber *des grands jours* began the exercise of its office; the king would not wait for the conclusion; he was weary of Limoges, after a stay of eight days there, namely, to the middle of October, and returned post to Paris. He left me in this

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province invested with his authority, as well in criminal matters as for disbanding the troops, which kept me ten days behind him. We went back to the source of the rebellion, by endeavouring to discover the first authors of it; and so successful were our inquiries and the effects of them, that all remained peaceable for the future. It was thought sufficient to behead ten or twelve of the most active of the rebels, among whom those of greatest note were the two Luquisses, gentlemen of Languedoc, who have been already mentioned; and Meirargues,* a kinsman of the Joyeuses; the former for having undertaken to deliver up Narbonne to the Spaniards, and the latter Marseilles. I have no reason to doubt but that after these examples of rigour, the hatred of the Protestants against me was wound up to its utmost pitch. I cannot but complain of this unjust prejudice, which, however, did not extend to all: Theodore Beza was my friend, and his approbation alone was sufficient to comfort me for the causeless malice of a thousand others. This venerable old man, who exercised the function of pastor at Geneva, was seized with an illness towards the latter end of this year, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. During the great eclipse of the sun,† which has rendered this year memorable, his

* Louis d'Alagon, or rather Lagonis, Baron of Meirargues, was arrested at Paris, in the monastery of St. Germain, together with the Spanish ambassador's secretary, and beheaded on the 19th of December. His body was quartered, and fixed over the principal gates of the city, and his head was carried to Marseilles, where it was fastened on the top of a pike over the chief gate. The king ordered the Spanish secretary to be set at liberty, without waiting for the determination of the question, at that time strongly debated, whether it was right to give up to the course of justice an ambassador, resident, or any other foreign minister, who violates the law of nations. (MSS. Royaux, 8477; see also the discussion of this question, and Henry IV.'s discourse on this occasion to the Spanish ambassador, in Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 858; Matthieu, vol. ii. book iii. p. 689, and other historians.)

† This eclipse happened on the 2nd of October, according to M. de Thou, and on the 3rd according to the "Mercure François," at one o'clock in the afternoon: it continued two hours, and for half an hour there was total darkness. Le Grain says that, during an hour and a half, one could with difficulty read or write without a candle. L'Etoile was not freer than M. de Sully from the popular prejudices in regard to eclipses. "Many strange maladies of different kinds," says he, "raged in Paris at that time; and, together with the eclipse, which happened on the 2nd of this month, eclipsed many persons, who have

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illness, which till then was but slight, increased so greatly, that he survived only a few days. He preserved till the last moment the full force and vigour of his mind in a body weakened by infirmities and exhausted by age. He ordered his attendants to lift him out of his bed, and then, with the utmost fervour, he offered up his prayers to God, and in the most earnest and pathetic manner exhorted all those who were present to a performance of the duties of religion and holiness; after which he was again laid in bed, where he expired without pain, nature being quite worn out: he did not forget me in his last moments; and thinking that he owed me some acknowledgment for the visit I paid him at Geneva, and the service I did him when I presented him to his majesty at the head of the other deputies from that city, he desired Diodati to present a book to me in his name, entitled "The Treasure of Piety;" this was the New Testament, translated by him, with notes, which, together with the other versions, both ancient and modern, formed a complete work; this he inscribed to me, and in the epistle dedicatory gave free scope to the favourable sentiments he entertained of me. Diodati punctually performed his last commands, and in the month of November sent me the book with a letter, from whence these circumstances are taken.

I shall conclude my relation of his majesty's journey with that of a quarrel which happened between me and the Count of Soissons, followed by another with the Duke of Epernon. The count, having taken offence at something which the king had done or said to him when he left Paris, thought proper to revenge himself upon me. I had, as has been before observed, left my train of artillery, to take the direct road to Limoges, that I might meet his majesty at Châtellerault. The Count of Soissons ordered his harbinger to go to the quarter masters, who were then employed in marking out the king's lodgings, and ask them which was reserved for me, and to take possession of it for him, in spite of all opposition. This was not so easy to be done as said. A great number of gentlemen of the province, who knew the rights

never been seen since. Dysenteries, especially, were very dangerous and mortal to those who happened to be attacked by them, and more in other places than at Paris; few of them escaping." (Anno 1605.) The same author says that Beza died the day after the eclipse.

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of a governor as well as myself, being present when the count's harbinger was preparing to execute his orders, they prevented him, without even acquainting me with what they had done. The count did not fail to complain immediately to the king of this indignity, which he said his honour was concerned to resent; and as an aggravation, added, that I had caused his harbingers to be beaten.

The king, who knew his temper, gave him but little satisfaction; but the count made so much noise, and asserted the fact so positively, that Henry sent D'Escures to me to know the truth. All I knew of the matter, which I told him, was, that upon receiving information of what was doing, I went to the place destined for my quarters, where I found above fifty Poitevin gentlemen, who all together exclaiming against the unjustifiable procedure of the count's harbinger, had made use of threats to prevent his going further. The Count of Soissons still insisted that it was a designed insult upon him, and demanded justice of the king. He found none to take his part; and Henry, by all the arguments he could think of, endeavoured to convince him that his complaint was groundless; he told him that all governors have a right in their provinces to take place of every one but the king; and that I, as master-general, had the additional right of claiming the next quarters to the king, when he marched in the body of the army; therefore it could be no encroachment to have only part of those quarters, when the whole is at the disposal of the master-general; no one pretending any right, or fixing on any part of it for himself, without my permission; and for this reason the quartermaster had put to mine the accustomed mark which secures his to the king, namely, these words, "For the King;" the Count of Soissons' harbinger, therefore, ought, through respect, to have abstained from his attempt.

None of these reasons having any weight with the Count of Soissons, it was necessary that Henry should think of some expedient to satisfy us both; and this expedient was, that when I came as usual to pay my respects to him, I should make my compliments likewise to the count, and offer him, through mere politeness, my quarters; which the count, returning my civility, should refuse; this was accordingly done, but it was on my part only; for the count, making use

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of a mean artifice, from whence he afterwards derived a still meaner occasion for boast, suffered me to make all these advances without any return on his side, and took possession of my quarters, because I could not decently unsay what I had said. But his joy, and the railleries which enhanced it, lasted only till next day.

As he was passing through the street where I lodged, followed only by two gentlemen (for he was going to hunt along with his majesty), he found the street filled with gentlemen to the number of two hundred, who were waiting till I came out to mount my horse, and who, as soon as they saw him at a distance, crowded together, as if for diversion, so close, that they left no passage for the count; and his equerry, not being able to open him one, was obliged to cry out, "Make way, gentlemen, make way for monsieur the count!" but they, raising their voices all together, talked so loud and so confusedly, that the equerry could not make himself heard; some of them muttering at the same time, that it was never known that a governor of a province was dispossessed of his lodgings in a place where he represented the king's person. The count was obliged to wait a quarter of an hour before he could get room to pass; and for a further aggravation of his misfortune, not one of these gentlemen saluted him. This was a new subject for complaint to the king. His majesty told him he was sorry for what had happened, but could do nothing for him, since he must not expect that, in complaisance to him, he would make inquiries among four or five hundred gentlemen for the persons who had offended him, when he could point out no particular one; they at the same time supposing they had some right to take this revenge upon him for an insult injurious to them all.

The Count of Soissons found no one to take part in his resentment but the Duke of Epernon, who was himself then violently enraged against me on the following occasion: the Rochellers, hearing that his majesty would pass near their city in his march, sent a deputation to him of their chiefest citizens, as a mark of their gratitude and respect. I was the person to whom they applied; the king, therefore, ordered me to conduct them to the audience, which he gave them in the presence of the whole court; they told his majesty they

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were come to entreat he would honour their city with his presence since he was so near it, assuring him, that although he was at the head of an army of Catholics, he should not be received with less respect and submission than when he came formerly at the head of the Protestant troops; and that if their gates were not wide enough to admit him and his train, they would throw down three hundred fathoms of their wall, since his repeated bounties had enabled them to rebuild it. They then presented the keys to him with such sincere expressions of joy and affection, that the king was melted even to tears, embraced them thrice, and afterwards, entering into a familiar conversation with them on past times, assured them that in him they might always depend upon finding a protector of their liberty, and a zealous preserver of their privileges.

As I was going out at the conclusion of this ceremony, I met the Duke of Epernon, who coming to wait upon the king, asked me what was doing; and I, without reflecting upon his question, answered it directly; but I was surprised to see at the recital I made him his countenance overspread with rage and disdain; and a moment after to hear him ask me haughtily, whether I assumed any right in the government of Rochelle? and by what claim I took upon myself to present the deputies from that city to the king? I never thought it a meanness to give my friends satisfaction in cases where my conduct might appear doubtful to them; I therefore told him, that it was in the quality of an old friend of that city, and by his majesty's command, that I had presented the deputies to him. He replied, with the same emotion as at first, that Rochelle being comprehended in his patent of governor, the king, the Rochellers, and myself, had equally injured him. I could not help telling him, that the Rochellers would look upon his pretensions as very singular, but that it was from them, or rather from the king, that he was to desire an explanation, and not from me, since I had only acted by his majesty's orders, and without any intention to encroach upon the rights of other persons. Saying this, I quitted him coolly, and he went to the king to tell him the cause of his disgust; he returned more dissatisfied than he went, and all the resource he had, was to mingle his grievances and complaints with those of the Count of Soissons. The malicious

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things they said of me on this occasion, and of which I had convincing proofs, was the cause that I afterwards took D'Ornano's part in a quarrel which happened between him and D'Epernon, during the king's stay at Limoges. This still more increased D'Epernon's rage, and a third subject of discontent completed the rupture between us; he demanded assignments for the payment of the bread furnished by the cities and large towns for the soldiers he had levied. I thought it my duty, before I complied with this request, to acquaint the king, who, knowing as well as myself that this money would remain in D'Epernon's purse, instead of being delivered to those to whom it belonged, gave me orders to refuse him. This was the rock upon which our reconciliation, our mutual promises of friendship, and those connexions which had been capable of giving umbrage to the king, were all split and destroyed.

At my return from Limoges I went to give his majesty an account of the use I had made of that authority he had confided to me: we had now a longer conversation together than at my return from Châtellerault, and upon the very same subject—policy, and the quarrels at court. I found him this time also at Fontainebleau, whither he had gone to pass the month of October and part of November; the queen was there also: the king and she met as they entered the court, she in her litter and he on horseback, for he had rode post. Here he lost La Rivière, his first physician, whom he greatly regretted: he gave his post to Du Laurens,* who was already first physician to the queen, and looked out for another for her majesty. I did not stay long at Fontainebleau; a thousand different affairs called me to Paris, where Henry had consideration enough to leave me a long time without commanding my attendance on him.

I have yet mentioned but some part of those affairs Queen Margaret had to communicate to me in our interview at

* Andrew du Laurens was the fourth principal physician whose death Henry IV. had seen since his accession to the crown; and as he also died four years afterwards, Petit, a physician of Gien, who succeeded him, was the fifth. M. de Sully being entreated to procure Du Laurens' office for Turquet, one of the physicians in ordinary to the king, who was a Protestant, answered, "I have taken an oath never to recommend either a physician or a cook to the king."

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Cercote. As she proposed to quit her Castle of Usson and reside in Paris, she was desirous of having my advice upon this occasion, and to know if she should be well received at court, whither it was necessary she should go, to prove that she did nothing without his majesty's consent. I assured her that their majesties would receive her with the utmost respect, for I was well acquainted with their sentiments in regard to her. A bare assurance would not satisfy her; she insisted upon my engaging my word as a security, which I did without any hesitation; and she, on her side, promised to be governed wholly by my advice. After these mutual engagements we separated; I took the road to Châtellerault, and Margaret that to the Castle of Madrid, where she intended to lodge.

Henry, besides the inclination he had to oblige this princess, who well deserved that he should contribute to her satisfaction, had another reason for consenting that she should leave Usson.* He was extremely desirous of having this old castle in his own possession, as its situation, in a very suspected country, might make it one day a convenient retreat for the rebels, as the Castle of Carlat had been. The king proposed to throw down this castle if it should not be judged worth preserving; for this purpose he ordered me to send a faithful and intelligent commissioner to the Castle of Usson as soon as Queen Margaret should leave it, and to give him exact information of the condition it was then in, but that he should not discover with what intention he went. However, La Varenne, coming soon after from Queen Margaret, declared to Henry that it would give her great trouble if the Castle of Usson was demolished so soon after her departure; upon which the king wrote to me to defer sending the commissioner thither till he had seen that princess. This second order would have come too late if, happily, the person whom I had resolved to employ, and who was one of

* She had lived there near twenty years. On her leaving Agen, from whence she made her escape disguised in the habit of an ordinary citizen, riding behind Lignerac, she went to live at Carlat, a castle belonging to a gentleman called Martas. The Marquis de Canillac carried her off from this castle, and shut her up in the Castle of Usson, which place pleased her so much, that she fixed her abode there, though she was left at liberty to quit it whenever she thought proper.

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the best engineers in the whole body of the artillery, had not been indisposed, which obliged him to put off his journey for some days.

The arrival of Queen Margaret, and the kind reception it was known Henry prepared to give her, occasioned some of those idle slanders which the foolish populace are so fond of propagating. The wisest way being to seem ignorant of them, the king made no alterations in those honours he was resolved to pay her. As soon as she came to Paris, he sent M. de Vendôme and Roquelaure to pay his compliments to her till he could visit her in person, for he was then at Monceaux, from whence he set out for that purpose: the queen also sent Châteauvieux in her name. On the 26th of July, Henry went in person to visit her at Bois de Boulogne,*

* From thence she went to live in the palace of Sens, near L'Ave-Mary: she afterwards hired a palace in the suburb St. Germain, opposite to the Louvre, where she continued till her death. This princess has been so much abused in the libels of that time, that one might be induced to accuse M. de Sully of partiality, in the praise he everywhere bestows on her in his Memoirs, if his testimony were not confirmed by our best historians. The author of "L'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils," on their authority, speaks of her in the following manner: "Her degradation, in point of rank, was so amply made up by her goodness and the royal virtues she possessed, as to render her still greatly respected. Like a true heiress of the illustrious house of Valois, she never bestowed a gift on any one without making an apology for giving so little; she was the refuge of men of letters, loved to hear them talk, her table was constantly surrounded with them, and she learned so much from conversing with them that she spoke better than any woman of her time, and wrote more correctly than most persons of her sex are capable of doing. In short, as charity is the queen of all virtues, this great princess crowned hers by giving alms, which she did with so liberal a hand to all who stood in need of them, that there was not a religious house in Paris which did not feel the effects of her bounty, nor one poor person who had recourse to her that did not meet with relief; therefore God out of his mercy repaid her, with usury, for that which she showed to his people, giving her grace to make a truly Christian end," &c. (Vol. i. p. 326.) This is surely sufficient to compensate for a small number of levities and human weaknesses, which are the utmost of what this princess could ever be charged with. If any one is desirous of seeing further what has been written for or against her on this head, let him read Messieurs de Thou, Dupleix, Mezerai, Father Daniel, Father Hilarion de Coste's "Eulogium of illustrious Ladies," Bassompierre, M. Bayle's Dictionary under the word Usson, and an infinity of other writers. She died on the 27th of March, 1615, at her palace in the Faubourg St. Germain, which has since been

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where she then was, having only passed through Paris. His majesty went at seven o'clock in the evening, and returned at ten. This interview passed with equal satisfaction on both sides. The king spoke of the Castle of Usson to Margaret: she consented to what he proposed; and in that whole affair he never did anything without first knowing whether it would be agreeable to her. On the 28th of the same month she came to Paris, to pay her respects to the queen, who came to the Louvre to receive her: she afterwards, on the 4th of August, went to St. Germain, to see the dauphin, and stayed there four or five days with their majesties. Henry had no greater pleasure than the company of his children, as his frequent journeys to St. Germain sufficiently proved. Queen Margaret returned to Bois de Boulogne on the 11th of the same month, greatly affected with their majesties' obliging behaviour to her.

By the orders which she gave to her officers who remained at Usson, Barenton, who was sent thither by his majesty, found no opposition, and was put in immediate possession of the castle. He drew up a memorial of the state in which he found it, and brought it to the king, who, persisting in his resolution of dismantling the castle, ordered me to send thither an engineer or commissary of artillery as soon as possible for that purpose. I was commissioned to thank Queen Margaret in his name for the cheerfulness with which she had made this sacrifice, and to pay her the full value of all the stores and ammunition which were found at Usson, which she had destined for the payment of the garrison she maintained there, if she did not rather choose to give her soldiers these stores and provisions themselves.

I shall conclude the memoirs of the present year with an article which I am already certain will have the approbation of all just and sensible persons, and for which I am also as

demolished; she was interred in the church of the Reformed Augustines, since called the Little Augustines, which had been founded by her. "She was greatly regretted," say the Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis, "being a princess abounding in goodness of heart, eagerly fond of the welfare and repose of the State, who did no harm to any one beside herself." These few words, I apprehend, are sufficient to give us the perfect idea we ought to form of her character, and sufficiently agree with what M. de Sully says of her.

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secure of their acknowledgments. In all the principal cities of the kingdom, especially those which have arsenals and academies, there are also schools for the young nobility, in which are taught all kinds of sports and exercises, as well military as those designed merely to form a graceful carriage and give strength and activity to the limbs: and these exercises are nowhere more carefully cultivated than at Paris, where the spacious courts of the Arsenal, destined to this use, are full almost every hour of the day. I was always of the same opinion as Henry concerning these exercises: he often asserted that they were the most solid foundation, not only of discipline and other military virtues, but also of those noble sentiments and that elevation of mind which give one nation the pre-eminence over every other. I used to be present at them myself when I could steal a moment from business, as well through the taste I had for such amusements, as because I thought my presence would excite a laudable emulation amongst the youth.

One afternoon in carnival time, when these sports were most frequent, I left my closet to show myself to this assembly of young men, and came very seasonably to prevent the consequence of two quarrels, which, from that mistaken notion of honour to which France has made herself a slave, were likely to have been very fatal. These quarrels had taken their rise from a trifle, as it generally happens with the greatest part of those which have been followed by the most bloody catastrophes; but the king (I am grieved to say it) took so little care to enforce the observation of the edicts published by some of his predecessors against the barbarous custom of duelling, that every day, and on the slightest occasion, some blood was shed.

I thought it my duty to endeavour to convince these young men, who crowded about me, of the error they were in with regard to true valour. "It is," said I to them, "in the field of battle, and in actions which have the service of our country in view, that courage is permitted to be shown; that which arms us against our friends, or countrymen, in contempt of all laws, as well divine as human, is but a brutal fierceness, madness, and real pusillanimity." I perceived that the moral I endeavoured to inculcate appeared very strange to these young men, who were carried away by the

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heat of blood and the ardour of youth: one of them, who, it was apparent, sought to give himself consequence with his fellows, replied, that princes having at all times permitted, nay, authorised duels, they had passed into custom, which held the place of law.

I contented myself for the present with making the youth sensible that he supported his argument upon false and erroneous principles, and with preventing the challenge from proceeding any further; but as soon as I retired, I gave free course to my reflections upon the singularity of an abuse unknown to the most polished, and at the same time bravest people. These reflections, when thrown upon paper, composed a kind of memorial, which I thought it my duty to present to the king.

Duels, it is true, are of long standing in France, and indeed throughout Europe, but in that part only which has been overwhelmed by barbarians, from whose time this hateful custom takes its date, and appears therefore to be derived from them; and if histories of times more remote, such as that of the Emperor Otho I., and of the Divorce of Lothario, afford some instances of single combat, they may be opposed by prohibitions of equal antiquity, whether ecclesiastical (as that of the Council of Valentia in 855) or secular. We have in France a very ancient edict which forbids them in all civil causes, and in criminal causes limits them to five cases: high treason, rape, house-burning, murder, and nightly thefts. Saint Louis* afterwards took away all restriction; and when Philip IV., his grandson, seemed to restore them in 1303, in charges of state crimes, rapes, and house-burning, to which he reduced them, he was incited only by a motive at once deserving praise and censure; the hope of abolishing insensibly this custom of bloodshed, which had gathered strength in his

* On the subject of these edicts of Saint Louis and Philip the Fair, as also of the origin, manner, and whatever has relation to single combats, consult the writers who treat of it: such as Paul de Montboucher, Lord of La Rivaudière, in his treatise on the Ceremonies and Laws of Challenges and Single Combats, &c., in 1608; John Savaron, Lord of Villars, in his treatise against duels, with the edict of Philip the Fair, in 1610; Brantôme, in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, entitled "Touching Duels;" D'Audiguier, Du Piex, Ruauld, Basnage, &c., and many other Italians.

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time, by confining it to these rare cases set down in a positive law: to make this more evident, he forbade all manner of persons to allow them, by receiving what was called pledges of battle, and declared this right reserved to himself alone.

To show, by explaining the difference between the ancient duels and those of our time, what a number of nameless abuses have crept into a practice which itself was from its origin a corruption, it will be sufficient to lay down the circumstances and formalities which were observed in those times.

In the first place, no person, however offended, could take vengeance in his own right, and, as it is now practised, in the first emotion of caprice and passion, and much less in mere bravado, which, in my opinion, is of all things the most contrary to the laws of society. They had their judges, before whom he who thought himself injured in his honour was to give an account of the wrong suffered, and demand permission to prove, in the way of arms, that he did not lay upon his enemy a false accusation. It was then considered as shameful to desire blood for blood. The judge, who was commonly the lord of the place, made the person accused appear likewise before him; and never allowed the decision of battle, which was demanded by throwing a glove, or some other pledge upon the ground, but when he could get no other proof either of guilt or innocence.

The pledges being received, the judge deferred the decision of the quarrel till the end of two months, during the first of which the two enemies were delivered each of them to common friends, upon security for their forthcoming; their friends endeavoured by all sorts of means to discover the person criminal, and to convince him of the injustice of maintaining a falsehood, from which he could expect nothing but the loss of his reputation, of his life, and of his soul; for they were persuaded with the utmost degree of certainty, that Heaven always gave the victory to the right cause; and, therefore, a duel, in their opinion, was an action of which the event was determined by no human power. When the two months were expired, the two rivals were put into a close prison, and committed to the ecclesiastics, who employed every means to make them change their design. If after

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all this they still persisted, a day was at last fixed to end their quarrel.

When this day was come, the two champions were brought fasting in the morning before the same judge, who obliged both of them to declare upon oath that they said the truth, after which they suffered them to eat; they were then armed in his presence, the kind of arms being likewise settled; four seconds, chosen with the same ceremonies, saw them undressed, and anointed all over the body with oil, and their beards and hair cut close. They were then conducted into an enclosed ground, and guarded by armed men, having been made to repeat for the last time their assertions and accusations, to see if they persisted in them without alterations. They were not even then suffered to advance to the combat; that moment their seconds joined them at the two ends of the field for another ceremony, which of itself was enough to make their weapons drop from their hands, at least if there had been any friendship between them. Their seconds made them kneel down in this place facing each other; they made them join hands, with the fingers of one put between the fingers of the other; they demanded justice from one another, and were conjured on each side not to support a falsehood; they solemnly promised to act upon terms of honour, and not to aim at the victory by fraud and enchantment. The seconds examined their arms piece by piece, to see that nothing was wanting, and then conducted them to the two ends of the lists, where they made them say their prayers and make their confession; then asking each of them whether he had any message to send to his adversary, they suffered them to engage, which they did at the signal of the herald, who cried from without the lists, "Let the brave combatants go!". After this, it is true, they fought without mercy, and the vanquished, dead or alive, incurred all the infamy of the crime and the punishment; he was dragged upon a hurdle in his shirt, and afterwards hanged or burnt, while the other returned honoured and triumphant, with a decree that attested him to have gained his suit, and allotted him all manner of satisfaction.

There is throughout all this ceremony something wild and ridiculous; but, however, religion, authority, and prudence

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are still heard, though utterly mistaken; whereas there is nothing but monstrous unreasonableness in the practice of those smart youths, who withdraw slily into a field to shed the blood of one another, with hands impelled by no better instinct than that which instigates a beast of prey. If men went to fight with the same coolness and deliberation as in former times, can it be imagined that there would be the hundredth part of the duels that now happen? But men have thought it necessary to dismiss reflection from an action which is serious above all others. Some rush blindly into this danger, others please themselves with being born for the destruction of their fellow-creatures; others revive the hateful trade of the gladiators, and are indeed more dreadful and contemptible than the men who bore that name were heretofore.

The forms of duels which were observed in Germany, differ not essentially from those of France, which I have described. They were likewise received in Spain and England; only he who yielded to his adversary upon a single wound was reputed infamous; he could not afterwards either cut his beard, bear any office, wear a weapon, or mount a horse. On the contrary, he who died in a courageous defence was buried honourably. Another singularity, which must have prevented duels from being common in Germany, was, that there were only three places where they could be fought, Witzbourg in Franconia, Uspach, and Hall in Swabia.

I could not wait for his majesty's return to Paris to communicate to him the memorial of which I have now mentioned the contents, to inform him of the accidents to which this practice gave occasion, and to desire him to put a stop to an evil which was every day spreading by his indulgence. I entreated him to attend to the counsel which I had presumed to give him, to renew the edicts against duels, to aggravate the punishment considerably, and execute it severely; and to forbid all men to prosecute any word of injury or offence otherwise than by course of law; but to manage so, that the justice obtained might be speedy and satisfactory; to make the complainant easy, and the aggressor penitent; and lastly, to have this new order fixed up, at the beginning of every year, in the courts of the Louvre, the Palace, the

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Arsenal, and in other places that were most frequented.* It is certain, as I represented to his majesty, that a reputation for personal valour, such as the prince had established, was able to give to an edict concerning duels twice the authority that it could derive from mere royal pleasure; but the pleasure of the Master of kings, a power far superior, did not allow to the reign of Henry the Great the extirpation of this abuse.

It may be said, without pretending to justify this prince, that his easiness with respect to duels proceeded from a habit contracted by his long wars, by which he saw bloodshed without emotion; and that he was likewise not much less indifferent about his own blood. He had always some notion that the last moment was inevitably predetermined: this opinion he disguised to himself, under the Christian notion of resignation to God. There was sent me from Rome, about this time, an account of a conspiracy against the State, and an attempt upon the life of the king, which I thought I ought to disclose to him, though it seemed to me worthy to be despised, as indeed he despised it. He told me on this occasion, that he was at last convinced that the happiness of his life required he should pay no manner of regard to intelligence like this,† for that, otherwise, his life would be worse than death itself; that the calculators of nativities had threatened him, some, that he should die by the sword, and others by a coach; but that none of them had ever mentioned poison, which seemed to him the easiest way to despatch him, because he ate a great deal of fruit of all kinds that were offered him, without having them tasted; therefore, upon the whole, he gave himself up to the Lord of his life and of his death.

It is not impossible but that, speaking in this manner,

* If we attentively read what Cardinal de Richelieu has said on this subject in his Political Testament (part i. chap. iii. § 2), the title whereof is, "Of the Means to prevent Duels," we must own that great minister seems to have drawn all his reflections on this matter from this and other parts of these Memoirs where duels are spoken of.

† "Let him alone," said this prince to those who persuaded him to punish a man who had been engaged in a conspiracy against him; "he is a wicked wretch, whom God will punish without my interfering." (Matthieu, vol. i. book ii. p. 359.)

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Henry reckoned a little, without perceiving it, upon the good fortune that had accompanied him as well in those dangers which particularly threatened his person,* as those which regarded his kingdom and happiness. Of eight persons from whom he had most to fear in this latter respect, he remarked that some favourable planet had freed him from six of the most considerable; that one had died in the hangman's hands, two others of sickness, the fourth was then in prison; the fifth had gone into voluntary banishment; and the sixth was reduced to flatter him whom he formerly endeavoured to destroy. For the other sort of good fortune, we have seen examples of it throughout this history: but, alas! this good fortune was not complete; an unhappy moment for France, as well as for this prince, has wholly blotted out that idea of prosperity.

* Henry IV. escaped one on Monday, the 19th of December, of which M. de Perefixe gives the following relation: "The same day on which Meirargues was executed an unfortunate madman made an attempt on the sacred person of the king, rushing on him with a poniard in his hand, as he returned from hunting, over the Pont-neuf. His majesty's footmen running up, obliged him to quit his hold, and were going to beat his brains out on the spot had not the king forbid them, and ordered him to be imprisoned in Fort l'Evêque. His name was John de Lisle, a native of Vineux, near Senlis. He was immediately afterwards examined by the President Jeannin, who could not get any rational answer from him, for he was entirely out of his senses; he fancied himself to be king of all the world, and said Henry IV. had usurped the kingdom of France from him, and he was therefore going to chastise him for his temerity; whereupon the king, thinking him sufficiently punished by his madness, commanded he should only be kept in prison, where he died soon after." (History of Henry the Great, part iii.)

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BOOK XXIII.

[1606.]

Rosny presents medals to the king—The king and queen confer with Rosny on the subject of their quarrels — Conversation between Henry IV. and Rosny upon politics, in which they concert measures to humble the House of Austria—Rosny is made a duke and peer of France—The expedition to Sedan—Intrigues at court upon this occasion—Letters from the Duke of Sully to the Duke of Bouillon—His advice to Henry—Disgusted upon account of the treaty of Sedan —Complains of Villeroy — Sully's advice to Henry to seize the fortresses in the earldom of St. Paul, which is not listened to—Henry offended with him upon account of his entry into Paris—Differences of Paul V. with the Venetians—Henry gives good advice to both parties—The city of Metz has a dispute with the Jesuits—New favours granted them by Henry—Adventure of Father Cotton on the subject of Adrienne de Fresne—Disputes upon religion—With the clergy, on the subject of the Council of Trent—Between the Catholics and the Protestants of Rochelle—Ceremony of the baptism of the children of France—Regulations upon the gabelle and the elections—Other operations and regulations in the finances—Private life of Henry—His amusements—Conversation between him and the courtiers—Military affairs in Spain and Flanders—Reflections upon this war—Other foreign affairs—Conspiracy against the King of England.

THE king and queen being at Paris on the first day of this year, I went to the Louvre in the morning to pay my respects to them, and offer the usual presents. I did not find the king in his own chamber; L'Oserai and Armagnac told me that he was in bed with the queen, and that, probably, both were still asleep, because the queen's indisposition had kept them awake almost the whole night. I passed on to the queen's apartment, to inquire of La Renouillère and Catherine Selvage the state of their majesties' health; and knocked at the door as softly as possible, that I might not wake them. I found that the courtiers were already admitted: for several voices, which I

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knew to be those of Roquelaure, Frontenac, and Beringhen, asked all at once, "Who is there?" and when I answered, I heard them say to the king, "Sire, it is the master-general." "Come in, Rosny," said his majesty to me; "you will think me lazy, till you know what has kept us so late in bed. My wife, who believes she is in her eighth month, having had some pains as she was going to bed, I was apprehensive that she would have a dangerous labour; but towards the middle of the night they proved to be only the effects of the cholic; and she growing easy, we fell asleep, and neither of us waked till six o'clock this morning; but on her part, with groans, sighs, and tears, for which she has assigned imaginary causes. I will tell you what they are when some of these people have left the room, for you will not fail to speak your sentiments freely, and I believe your advice will not be useless on this occasion, any more than on many others of the same kind. But, in the mean time, let us see what you have brought us for our new-year's gifts, for I perceive you have three of your secretaries with you, each loaded with a velvet bag." "I remember, Sire," replied I, "that when I last saw the queen and your majesty together, you were both in very good humour, and believing that I should find you still so, and in expectation of another son, I have brought you a great many new-year's gifts, which, from the pleasure they will be received with by those persons among whom I shall distribute them in your name, will afford you great satisfaction; and I could wish this might be done in the presence of your majesty and the queen." "Though she says nothing to you," replied the king, "and plays the dormouse, as usual, yet I know she is not asleep; but she is offended both with you and myself. We will talk of this when only you, Renouillère, Beringhen, and Catherine are present, for they know something of the matter. But let us see your gifts." "These presents," said I to his majesty, "do not express the state of a master-general of the ordnance, nor are worthy of the treasurer of a rich and powerful monarch; but, small as they are, they will nevertheless give more joy to those on whom they are bestowed, and will produce you more acknowledgments, fame, and praises, than the excessive gifts you lavish upon persons who, I am well assured, thank you only by complaints full of ingratitude." I understand you by half a

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word," replied Henry, "as you sometimes show you do me. But let us see your presents, and talk no more of what you have heard."

I then ordered my three secretaries to approach. "Sire," said I, "here is Arnaud the elder, who carries in this bag, which holds the papers of the council, three purses of gold medals." I showed them to the king, and explained the motto, which expressed the affection of the people for his majesty. "One of these purses, Sire," continued I, "is for yourself, the other for the queen, and the third for the dauphin; that is to say, for Mamanga,* if her majesty does not keep it herself, as she always does. In this bag likewise are eight purses of silver medals, struck in the same manner, two for your majesty, two for the queen, and four for Renouillère, Catherine Selvage, and such other ladies of the queen's chamber as you shall please to give them to. Arnaud the younger has in his bag five-and-twenty purses of silver medals, to be distributed by the dauphin, Madame de Montglat, Madame de Drou, and Mademoiselle de Piolant, among the nurses and other female attendants on your children, and among the queen's maids. And in the third bag, which Le Gendre carries, there are thirty little bags, of a hundred crowns each, in demi-francs, all new, and so large that they look like whole ones; these are for presents to the queen's maids, and the women of her chamber, and those belonging to the children of France, according to your orders. I have left two large bags in my coach, to the care of my servants, full of *douzains*, all new likewise, and each bag worth a hundred crowns, which make twelve thousand sous; these are to be divided among the poor invalids who are upon the quays of the river near the Louvre, which I am told are almost full. I have sent thither twelve of the most charitable men in the city to range them in order, and distribute the presents. You cannot imagine how much these trifling new-year's gifts, in little pieces new coined, will please these poor men, and the queen's maids and women of

* Madame de Montglat, whom the young prince called so. In the 9138th volume of the King's MSS., which is entirely filled with original letters of Henry IV., the queen, and Madame Elizabeth of France, to Madame de Montglat, there is one from the young dauphin to his sister, in which he tells her he kisses Mamanga's hands.

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her chamber: they all declare, that they do not regard these gifts for the value, but as being instances of your regard for them; especially the queen's maids, who say, that what is given them to purchase clothes they must lay out as directed, but these hundred crowns they may lay out in what trifles they please, which is more to their taste." "But, Rosny," said his majesty to me, "will you give them their new-year's gifts without making them kiss you for them?" "Truly, Sire," replied I, "since you once commanded them to kiss me, I am under no necessity of using prayers and entreaties, they come very willingly; and Madame de Dron, who is so devout, only laughs at it." "Ah! Rosny," continued Henry, with the same gaiety, "since it is so, pray tell me truly, who kisses you most willingly? and which of them do you think the handsomest?" "Faith, Sire," returned I, "I cannot tell you; I have no leisure to think of gallantry, and I believe they take as little notice of my beauty as I of theirs; I kiss them as we do relics when we present our offerings." The king could not help laughing aloud; and addressing himself to those who were present, "What do you think," said he, "of this prodigal financier, who makes such rich presents out of his master's pocket for a kiss?" After diverting himself a few moments with this thought, "Go to breakfast," said he to the courtiers, "and leave us to confer a little upon matters of more importance."

Every one retiring but Renouillère and Catherine, the king, gently pushing the queen, said, "Awake, you dormouse, give me a kiss, and be peevish no more, for all our little quarrels are already forgotten by me; I am solicitous to keep your mind easy, lest your health should suffer during your pregnancy. You imagine," pursued he, "that Rosny favours me in our little disputes; but you would be undeceived if you knew with what freedom he sometimes tells me truths: and though I often resent those liberties, yet I am not really offended with him for them; on the contrary, I should believe he no longer loved me, if he ceased to make me such remonstrances as he thought were necessary for the honour of my person, the good of my kingdom, and my people's happiness; for be assured, my dear," he added, "there are none so just and so upright, who would not wholly fall, if, when they began to stumble, they were not

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supported by the good counsels of prudent friends and faithful servants: and to convince you of the truth of what I say, know that Rosny has been continually telling me, for these fifteen days past, that you are in your eighth month, and that I ought not to discompose you, for fear of hurting your son, for a son, he insists upon it, it is."*

This good prince, assuming an air still more tender and obliging, entreated her to tell him, before me, what was the cause of her waking with sighs and in tears. The queen at last, turning to him, said that her grief was occasioned by a dream, which seemed to confirm what had been predicted to her a few days before, but that her mind had been relieved by weeping. She then, in her turn, entreated the king to spare her any further uneasiness, at least while she was with child, and to avoid giving vent to such expressions, "which," said she, "make me, as well as others, believe that you are happier in the company of other persons than in mine, and those, too, whom I well know are not only unfaithful to you, but hate you in their hearts; I know the reason also, and I appeal for the truth of this to M. de Rosny, whose word I will take."

I avoided this explanation, by answering in a general manner, that it gave me great joy to see their majesties open their minds thus frankly upon their little quarrels; that I found it would not be difficult to put an end to them for the future, if they would seriously resolve to yield to such means as would be used for that purpose, by persons who chose rather to serve their true interest than soothe their resentment. This proposal was accepted immediately, and they desired me to propose those means, the queen saying that she was resolved to make use of them, and the king, that they would be highly agreeable to him. I then declared to their majesties, in plain terms (having first convinced

* The astrologers had foretold it, says L'Etoile's Journal, and that the queen's life would be in danger. She was happily brought to bed of a daughter on the 10th of February. Henry IV., in order to comfort the queen (for she passionately desired to have a son), said to her, with his usual gaiety, that if this daughter should not happen to meet with a proper establishment, there would be many others in the same condition; and that if her mother had not borne a daughter, she would not have been Queen of France.

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them that any other remedy would end only in talking and acting to no purpose, as had hitherto been the case), that there was only one way of getting rid, at once, of all the occasions of these perplexities; that since they had reason to distrust their own steadiness, in taking and keeping resolutions, they should make choice of some person for this business, who, while this decision was depending, and after it was determined, should take the whole upon himself, and act as if the king and queen were absolutely without concern in it. I advised them to choose a man steady enough not to let himself be shaken by any consideration, and capable of such pure and honest affection, as to serve them, when the case required, by opposing their inclinations.

I discovered not the least inclination to be employed in this business, which indeed was not very agreeable; but I assured their majesties, that if it was upon me they cast their eyes, they must begin by being absolutely silent with respect to the means they saw me make use of; and that, to give me a security that my work should not be destroyed by any return of disgust, they should oblige themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to oppose anything I should do, nor to preserve any resentment against me, although one of the parties, and perhaps both, must, by admitting the remedy I should make use of, do some violence to their inclinations. I believe they guessed what this remedy was;* and I may venture to assert, that if they had agreed to my proposal, no human consideration should have hindered me from pursuing it; but I had good reason to fear they would not suffer me to proceed thus far. However, the king replied, that he was ready to sign this engagement; but the queen, finding herself pressed, durst not venture to make any promise: she said she would consider of it; or otherwise I must tell her what it was I intended to do. Yet she knew my intentions as well as the king, but was afraid of the consequences of a compromise. So we did nothing afterwards but talk of that matter to the wind; for such it is to discuss with a serious air the trifling projects of the court, which

* M. de Sully has acquainted us with it before, in the advice he gave the king, to send four or five persons over the mountains, and the like number over the seas, as he expresses himself.

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have been already so often exhausted and worn out. It was through complaisance for their majesties that I consented to engage in this business, they having earnestly pressed me to it. I withdrew upon the queen's calling for her shift, and the king for his clothes.

The king and queen made my wife and me very considerable presents, in return for my new-year's gifts; we likewise received some presents from Queen Margaret. All the time the king stayed in Paris was spent in balls, masquerades, and diversions of every kind. On the 10th of January this prince came to the Arsenal,* it being very fine weather, to see a running at the ring. When the entertainment was over, he led me into the great walk in the gardens, where, leaning against the side of the balcony, I heard him with pleasure begin a serious conversation upon his political designs; the motto of my medals, with which he was greatly pleased, had turned his thoughts upon that subject. I had before perceived for some time that he began to be more and more persuaded of the necessity and importance of this political plan, and that he every day removed some obstacle to the execution of it; he used often to say to me that Philip III. had not profited by the wise counsels of Philip II. his father, to look upon all those vain-glorious ideas of universal monarchy, with which his predecessors' heads had been intoxicated, as so many idle chimeras; he added, that this prince, by all his proceedings, had made it evident he had not renounced them, and that there was not one among all the princes of Christendom who would be exempted from the attacks of this proud and insolent monarchy, till it was made to feel its own impotence by that great blow, the design of which I had first hinted to him and to the King of England, and which, as he owned, had not made all the impression on his mind it ought to have done. I believe the proceedings of the chamber *des grands jours* in the former year contributed most to this firmness of Henry; for by thus discovering the secret practices of Spain against him, his natural hatred of that power was greatly increased. I may venture to affirm, also, that the conversation we had together upon this subject had a great share in the resolution he had now

* See De Thou; Merc. Fr. ann. 1606.

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taken; and indeed it was not possible for a prince, though he were ever so inattentive to his own glory, to reflect upon all which an insatiable avarice and boundless ambition had in these latter times induced the house of Austria to undertake, without being seized with indignation. That Raoul de Hapsbourg, whose noblest exploits, when his election to the empire was declared to him, had been to lead some soldiers into the neighbourhood of Basle, during the factions of the Etoiles and the Papequais, was never easy till he had divided Alsace between himself and the city of Strasbourg; and afterwards increased his little domain with the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and other hereditary lands, which are still possessed by his family in Germany. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, when this happened, down to our own times, how many states, what an immense extent of country, has not this all-engrossing house devoured? The kingdoms of Spain; those of Naples and Sicily in Italy; the isles of Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca; Bohemia and Hungary, in Germany; Burgundy, Flanders, and all the Low Countries. Add to these the acquisitions she has made in the Eastern isles and in the New World, equal almost in extent to all that is discovered of the three other parts of the earth. Can we still doubt, then, whether Charles V., who raised her to such an exalted pitch of power, intoxicated with such success, did not seriously think of swallowing up all the rest of Europe, Asia, and Africa?

Is there a necessity to bring any other proofs of this vain scheme of universal monarchy than the destruction of the German Protestants, the conquest of Tunis and Algiers, the invasion of France, so openly declared by the irruption made into Provence, and by the famous siege of Metz—enterprises formed at one time by that monarch? And if we have seen this project blasted, to what can we attribute it, except to different circumstances, and obstacles raised against himself by the precipitation of a mind which, in the intoxication of success, thinks everything possible? Charles V. undertook too many things at once, and those greatly beyond his strength; he engaged in those enterprises without caution, and almost without any preparation; he braved earth, sea, the elements, and seasons. Soliman, who made head against him in Europe, Asia, and Africa; Francis I., Henry VIII.,

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the pope; the kings of Navarre, Tunis, and Algiers, were enemies he despised, and whom he scarcely took any notice of. He knew not how to manage the only resources which remained for him: his own subjects rebelled against him in Spain, Flanders, and Sicily. At length, when he acknowledged his error, he found no other remedy for it but an effort of despair, which made him abandon all, to confine himself to the gloom of a cloister. I never drew this picture to Henry without adding that Philip II., as ambitious as his father, but a better politician, had resumed all his designs, and might possibly have succeeded in them, if his private views upon France, England, and Ireland had not been crossed by the lucky chance that had brought together two such able heads as those of Henry and Elizabeth.*

I had always been apprehensive of the effects of the courtiers' suggestions, and the persuasions of the queen. This princess was continually representing to the king her husband the advantages of a double alliance with Spain; she affirmed, that if France were united with Rome, and the two Austrian branches, it would be an effectual way to extinguish all the factions in Europe, and that policy as well as religion dictated this method. Henry assured me that this sort of conversation, which had prevailed at court for some time, no longer affected him; and if he sometimes heard and answered such discourse, like one who sought to convince himself by making solid objections, it was only to hinder those persons from penetrating into his designs, and to flatter them with the hope of gaining him over to theirs, till a proper time came for taking off the mask. We agreed that matters were not yet ripe enough for that; and this conversation concluded, as many others on the same subject had done, by agreeing that, till that moment arrived, it was Henry's part to continue his endeavours for drawing into this association the princes of Germany and Italy, the dukes of Bavaria and Savoy, the former especially, by the prospect of gaining the imperial crown, and the latter by the hopes of

* It could only be with a view to invade France in general, or some part of it, that Philip II. intended to possess himself of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, by giving the duke some of his own in exchange for them; Matthieu, the historian, informs us of this circumstance. (Vol. ii. book ii. p. 240.)

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acquiring Lombardy, and the regal dignity granted in favour of a marriage between his eldest son and the eldest daughter of France.

The king could think of no other means to remove those obstacles which he had reason to expect the Duke of Bouillon would raise, than to reduce him to reason by seizing the city of Sedan. This expedient Henry's own mind suggested to him; and he resolved upon it so much the more willingly, as he could undertake this expedition without creating any suspicion of his other designs. He ordered me to prepare immediately a train of artillery, proportionable rather to the reputation of that place than to its real strength, which the king did not know quite so well as myself; he declared to me, that he was resolved to march thither in person, unless he were prevented by the gout, or some other indisposition, in which case he would commit the conduct of this enterprise to me; and that I might join together the authority and dignity suitable to the high employments I exercised, he offered me that moment, and indeed commanded me, to accept the rank of duke and peer, desiring me to tell him from which of my estates I would choose to take my title, that he might order Villeroy to make out the patent immediately.

I had before refused this dignity, when the king sent me ambassador to England; but, since that time, the repeated bounties of this indulgent master had removed the obstacle which hindered me from taking advantage of his favourable intentions; and finding likewise that he wished me to be raised to this rank as much for his own interest as mine, I accepted this new favour with the highest acknowledgment. I named the lands of Sully for my title, and the patent for it was signed on the 12th of February, sealed a few days afterwards, and registered on the last of the same month.* All the lords of the court, and the greatest part of the grandees of the kingdom, were pleased to accompany me when I went to the parliament for the ceremony of my reception, which was still further honoured by the presence of all the princes of the blood, except the Count of Soissons; the great chamber,

* De Thou (book xxxvi.), and almost all the historians, mention the distinguished manner in which this dignity was conferred on the Marquis of Rosny. Henry IV. had before made him honorary councillor of the parliament.

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the hall, all the galleries, and the very courts themselves, were so full, that there was scarcely room to move. I carried sixty persons of the highest rank home with me to the Arsenal, where an entertainment of flesh and fish was prepared for them; and I was most agreeably surprised to find his majesty, who went thither during the ceremony without giving me notice of his intention. "Master-general," cried the king, as soon as I entered, "I am come to the feast without being invited; shall I have a bad dinner?" "It is possible you may, Sire," I replied, "since I did not expect to be honoured with your presence." "I assure you I shall not," returned the king, preventing my acknowledgments, "for, while I waited your return, I visited your kitchens, where I have seen the finest fish imaginable, and ragouts in my own taste; and because you stayed too long, I have allayed my hunger with some oysters, and drunk some of your wine of Arbois, which I think is the best I ever tasted." The king's gaiety heightened the pleasure of the entertainment; and the rest of the day was passed to the entire satisfaction of the guests.

His majesty sent for me the next morning, and, in the presence of all the courtiers, asked me whether I had remembered to make a memorial of the train of artillery for the attack of Sedan which he had mentioned to me: it was already drawn up, and when I left my closet I put it in my pocket. I now presented it to the king, who caused it to be read aloud, by which means the courtiers were acquainted with the king's design; his majesty afterwards humorously said, that the Duke of Bouillon, though a naturalised German, had not probably forgot the French language, but that if he had, we might teach it him again in a little time by this method. His majesty then seeming to expect my advice concerning this war, I told him that I did not think the Duke of Bouillon had so little judgment, as not to be sensible of the vast disproportion between his majesty's forces and his own, or was so imprudent as to expose himself to the danger of knowing it by experience; that I had a long time warned him that his city could not hold out against the cannon; and knowing this better than any other person, I was assured that, if he made any show of resistance, it would only be with a hope of being able during that time to employ

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more successfully the arts of negotiation; yet, that I would take the liberty to advise his majesty to write once more to the Duke of Bouillon, and let him know that, in the present conjuncture, he might come with full security and throw himself at his feet, and be very certain that, upon this submission and more exactness in keeping his word for the future, his pardon would be granted and himself treated as formerly; but that if he refused this last favour, he must no longer expect to be received upon any terms of composition. After this I continued to give the king an account of the preparations I had made; he approved of the hint I gave him, to send away only the body of the artillery from Paris, and to take up the ammunition and other necessary provisions in places nearer Sedan, to save the expenses of carriage.

This affair was not pushed on so vigorously as I had expected it would, on account of the great opposition it met with at court, where the least preparation for war seemed to give as much alarm as it could do to the enemy. Nothing was talked of but the difficulties to be encountered before a town the fortifications and situation of which every one exaggerated to Henry, and of the inconveniences which would attend so long a siege as that must inevitably be. To hear them, one would have imagined that heaven and earth were interested in favour of Bouillon and his city. They contrived that a memorial on this subject, in the form of a letter, should fall into his majesty's hands, full not only of absurdity but impertinence. The king thought the style of it resembled that of the Duke of Bouillon, with some strokes of Du Plessis and Tilenus. It was not surprising that the particular friends of Bouillon or the Protestants should talk in this manner, such as Montluet, La Nouë, and the two Saint-Germains, who might think the whole Protestant body concerned in this business; but it was strange that persons who had no connexion with the Duke of Bouillon, and even others who understood fortification—as the engineer Erard, for instance—should never mention this design but to show the impossibility of executing it: it would be very difficult for me to believe that these persons wished well to the undertaking.

The king himself fell into an irresolution which was wholly

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incomprehensible to me: I often represented to him, but in vain, that he would by this procedure give all the advantage of the cause to persons who, having neither arms, hearts, nor hands, depended upon this resource alone; and it is certain that the Duke of Bouillon would not have suffered matters to be carried so far as they were, had he not persuaded himself, upon the report of his friends at court, who gave him intelligence of whatever passed there, that his majesty would never carry his designs into execution. Another expedient which those persons made use of was to tell the king that the duke had no intention to resist him, but that he could not resolve to appear weak and fearful before persons who, instead of making him a faithful report of his majesty's intentions, seemed solicitous to widen their differences by threats and insults; that if, instead of those persons (and here I was certainly meant) his majesty would be pleased to treat with him by men proper to inspire him with a confidence in his promises, he would be soon convinced of the truth of their assertions. Montluet and La Noue,* among others, boasted that they would, without any difficulty, bring him back to his duty; therefore, the king thought the best thing he could do was to depute them to him. They brought back nothing but general and ambiguous expressions; yet this did not open Henry's eyes, because they likewise represented to him that Sedan, by the new fortifications which were just raised there, was absolutely impregnable. I know not whether they really were carried away by this false opinion, or only affected to appear so; but Henry, instead of hastening his preparations, after this answer from the Duke of Bouillon, discovered more plainly that he thought the success of this attempt very doubtful.

I began to reflect seriously upon the disposition in which I saw the king, and to fear that when, by supporting him against the general outcry and against his own apprehensions, I should have embarked him in the enterprise, upon some unforeseen difficulty, which might probably be met with, the courtiers might so far influence his mind, already strongly prepossessed against it, as to induce him to abandon it, after great noise and expense, or to listen to proposals for

* Francis d'Angennes, Lord of Montluet; Odet de la Noue.

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an accommodation with the duke, upon conditions neither suitable to his person nor his dignity: in which case it would be better either not to engage in the attempt, or to find, while it was yet time, some other way to save his majesty's honour. I was very sure that the reproach of making a useless armament would fall entirely upon me, that I should be accused of having done either too much or too little; and that faults absolutely contradictory to each other would be imputed to me from the same persons. I concluded that it was necessary Henry should of himself come to some determination; and I was willing to see what would be the result of his own reflections.

I began therefore to speak less frequently, and with more coolness than before, of the enterprise of Sedan, and observed the same conduct in public. The king was one of the first who perceived this alteration; and as he did not endeavour to penetrate into my reasons for this behaviour, or thought that I had changed my opinions concerning the Duke of Bouillon and Sedan, it came into his mind, that having myself reflected more deeply upon the advice I had given him, I now tacitly retracted it, perceiving that the blow I was aiming against one of the heads of the Protestants might fall upon the whole body, by opening a way to oppress, one after the other, all who supported them in France. From this thought, which was already firmly established, Henry easily passed to a belief that I had no great reliance upon his equity, or that my attachment to my religion carried me too far. He declared this suspicion to several persons whom he knew to be my friends; and in order to have it cleared up by myself he came to the Arsenal. I was then confined to my chamber by the wound I had formerly received in my mouth and neck, from whence issued a splinter of bone, some lint, lead, and some grains of gunpowder, still so fresh and so little altered that they took fire when laid on some burning coals.

Henry turning the discourse upon the Duke of Bouillon, "I think," said he, "you are not so solicitous about this affair of Sedan as you were some time ago, nor so firm and steady in your resolutions concerning it as I have known you to be on other occasions, where far greater difficulties were to be expected: what is the meaning of it? Tell me freely, I

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entreat you, and do not conceal anything from me." This prince, by an effect of the liveliness of his temper, did not give me time to reply, but proceeded to inform me of the notion he had entertained of my alarms and apprehensions with respect to the Protestant body in France. He protested with great earnestness against the suspicion of his labouring to ruin the chief Protestants one after the other; he appealed to the knowledge I had of his sentiments, and asked whether it was not true that it was generally known that, in whatever concerned the service of his person and his table, he chose rather to trust himself in the hands of the Protestants than the Catholics; and he assured me also that he had no personal hatred to the Duke of Bouillon; that he would require nothing dishonourable of him; in a word, that he would make me judge of the manner in which he ought to be treated.

I was pleased to hear the king speak thus, and assured him that I was well convinced of his favourable sentiments for the Protestants in general, and for me in particular; yet I owned that the suspicion he had entertained of me with regard to the affair of Sedan had given me uneasiness; I declared to him the true cause of that coldness he taxed me with, and having afterwards exhausted all the reflections which the mind could suggest on this occasion, I disclosed one to him which had occurred to no one but myself, and this was that the expenses Bouillon had been at in fortifying Sedan having entirely exhausted his funds, and probably involved him in great debts, this might be the real cause of his not yielding to his majesty's desires, since, if he resigned Sedan to him, he would deprive himself of the only resource he had to retrieve his affairs; and this supposed, perhaps all that was necessary to bring the affair to a happy conclusion, was to offer the Duke of Bouillon a sum sufficient to pay his debts. I represented to the king that if by giving Bouillon two hundred thousand crowns, he might be prevailed upon to accept all the other conditions, his majesty would be still a gainer of six hundred thousand, since the expense of the armament he was preparing could not amount to less than eight hundred thousand crowns. A new motive for treating Bouillon with the utmost rigour of war, if he obliged the king to attack him, was to declare not only the principality

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of Sedan, but the viscounty of Turenne likewise, reunited to the crown, although he pretended to hold them both of France in the same manner as they do the great fiefs of the crown. I added, that unless his majesty did this he would have the mortification of having made advances for which nothing could afterwards make amends. It should seem that it was a kind of foresight of what happened which made me insist so earnestly upon this alternative, either to show an extreme indulgence before the enterprise was begun, or, when we had once taken up arms, an inflexible resolution.

The king replied, that to enter into a negotiation with Bouillon would be to confirm him in the opinion it appeared, by the letter already mentioned, he entertained, that his majesty durst not attack him: he consented, however, to let me try this method in concert with the Princess of Orange,* who was then at Paris; and that we should send Du Maurier† to the duke with despatches, the purport and terms of which he left wholly to me. "But you must likewise promise me," added Henry, "that, if he should not accept the offers you make him, you will serve me impartially in this affair, and in the manner you have done before," pursued he, instancing the siege of Amiens, the campaign of Savoy, and other enterprises of the same kind. This I faithfully promised. "It is enough," said Henry, taking my hand; "I am satisfied, and will rely entirely upon your capacity and fidelity." Saying this, he left me.

I went the next day to the Princess of Orange, and concerted with her the manner in which we should both write to the Duke of Bouillon. We settled the deputation of Du Maurier, and the matter of the instructions which were to be given him. The following is the substance of the letter I wrote to the duke: I began by calling to his remembrance the power and personal abilities of the present king, both as well known to himself as to me; and I entreated him to reflect well upon the advantages they gave him, since this

* Louisa de Coligny, the admiral's daughter, first married to the Count of Teligny, who was killed on St. Bartholomew's day; and a second time to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, whose widow she then was.

† Benjamin Aubery du Maurier, at first attached to the Duke of Bouillon, afterwards to the Duke of Sully.

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was the surest way to avoid the dangers with which he was threatened, and to prevent being blinded by his own prejudices, or carried away by the violence of his passions. This was not indeed to flatter, but, as I told him, it was to give him a clear notion of what he might expect, and to prevail upon him to follow the advice offered him by the Princess of Orange, and by a man who solicited him as a friend not to reduce himself to the necessity of giving to force, what nothing but his own obstinacy would hinder him from granting to conditions dictated by the utmost gentleness. I did not enter into a detail of the proposals, but informed him that Du Maurier was commissioned to make them to him personally; besides which, we had reduced to writing all that he had to say to him in our names, that nothing might be forgotten or mistaken. I anticipated the objections which I supposed he would make, that his majesty did not appear to have any part in the proposals we made him, by giving him my word of honour, and even offering to become surety, if necessary, that his majesty would ratify whatever should be agreed on betwixt us; adding, that I was willing to be branded with the epithets of base, perfidious, and dishonourable, if every article were not performed. I concluded with earnestly entreating him not to suffer matters to come to an extremity. This letter, which exactly agreed with that written by the Princess of Orange, was dated the 1st of March.

The Duke of Bouillon answered by a letter dated the 4th of the same month: he told me that he had received a letter from me, as likewise one from the Princess of Orange; that he had heard what Du Maurier had to say, and had read his paper attentively, but that he had reason to complain he should be obliged to purchase the king's favour by a meanness which would render him unworthy of it; that what was promised him was only by a writing which could be known but to a small number of persons, while all France would be witness of his humiliation, and the little regard the king would afterwards have for him; that his friends, whom he had consulted, and who were not so inconsiderable for their number as had been reported, were all of his opinion; that his majesty was very far from entertaining that favourable opinion of him which he had been made to hope for, since he

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distrusted his fidelity so much as not to allow him to keep a place of so little strength as Sedan. And here he added, but with more confidence, and in contradiction to what he had just said, that he was well informed there were persons who attempted to impose upon his majesty by promising to make him master of Sedan in less than a month, and without the loss of a single man. Bouillon, no doubt, applauded himself here on the ingenious way he had found to give me the lie in speaking to myself. The whole letter was in this strain of complaints without foundation, and protestations of innocence equally vague and uncertain. He took care to avoid making any confession or promise; and all that he said to the purpose, after this idle preface, was, that if he had given the king any cause to be offended with him, rather than aggravate his fault by denying it, he was ready to make a frank confession of it, and to submit to any reparation his majesty should require, provided it was not expected the return of his favour and confidence should cost him his poor inconsiderable city, which he was ready, in an authentic manner, to declare that he held only from his goodness; but that if the king persisted in his resolution to deprive him of it, he should be forced to believe that though his words expressed kindness, yet his actions testified hatred.

Bouillon's letter to the Princess of Orange was conceived almost in the same terms; and what Du Maurier related from himself having nothing more satisfactory in it, the king began to consider the Duke of Bouillon as wholly untractable. I thought it necessary, however, to answer his letter. I told him that his majesty was displeased at the manner in which he had refused the offers he had made him by me; that he had thought his letters full of distrust, doubts, and of expressions very disrespectful to him; besides his affectation of not answering precisely to what was proposed to him. I added, that I was truly grieved my advice should have no other effect but to embitter his mind, as it had happened formerly, when I wrote to him upon the imprisonment of Marshal Biron; but that the time would come, and perhaps it was already near, when he would be sensible that the counsel I had given him was in the present conjuncture the best that could be offered; and I warned him, for the last time, to think seriously of it, and earnestly entreated him to

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take such a resolution as would be most for his true interest, since nothing (whatever he might think to the contrary) would give me more satisfaction.

In the mean time I had found means to obtain a drawing of both the plan and elevation of Sedan. The king came to the Arsenal to look at it, and brought with him the Count of Soissons, the Duke of Epernon, the Marshals Brissac, Fervaques, Bellegarde, and Roquelaure, Don John de Medicis, De Vic, Montluet, La Nouë, Boësse, Nérestan, D'Escures, Erard, and Châtillon, who had drawn the plan, but whom I had expressly ordered not to give his opinion before so many witnesses. The situation of the place, its strength, and the form of the attack, were subjects for endless debate among so many persons: Montluet, La Nouë, and Erard, maintained with great obstinacy that it was impregnable, and could only be reduced by famine. To all this I scarce made any answer, though they generally addressed themselves to me, and the king often asked my opinion of those terrible fosses all cut in the rock, for so they alleged they were.

The assembly separating without coming to any resolution, I waited upon his majesty the next day; and, after telling him my reason for keeping silence the day before, namely, that among so many persons secrecy would be but ill kept, I made him sensible that none of those diligent observers had attended to any of the defects in the fortification, among which were the Valley of the Fountain, that of Ginmenes, the artificial ditches, which in some places were not defended by the natural rock, but flanked with earth brought thither for the purpose; and the two approaches by the river-side, one above and the other below, which were so spacious that I assured his majesty I would lodge, and that with very little danger, all the troops within two hundred paces of the city, and even under the counterscarp of the artificial ditches, because the turning of the valleys would cover them from the discharge of the small arms, while the besieged would not be able to show themselves upon their parapets, nor scarcely in any other place, without being perceived from the eminences in the surrounding country, which so absolutely command the whole body of the fortification, that we might have a full view of the inside of the lodgments, both in front, in rear, and on each side; and I gave his ma-

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jesty my word, that within the eighth day after the batteries were raised, I would put him in possession of Sedan.

This once the king believed me, and in the joy that transported him he flew to impart it to Messieurs de Medicis, de la Force, de Vic, de Nérestan, and Boësse, whose discretion he was well assured of, and who greatly praised my caution. After this, Henry no longer hesitated whether he should attack Sedan, but prepared to set out as soon as possible at the head of a body of cavalry and some companies of the regiment of guards; while I, in the mean time, assembled the rest of the troops in a body, and sent away the artillery before; taking care that the country people and citizens should receive no insult or suffer the least inconvenience by the quartering of so great a number of soldiers.

The design of falling upon the Duke of Bouillon could not fail to raise murmurs among the Protestants, and it is probable that the duke depended upon a general insurrection in his favour. If this were the case, he was deceived in his expectations; to which, I confess, I contributed. I took occasion from a letter that Parabère wrote to me upon this subject, to give in my answer a kind of manifesto which might justify to the Protestants the king's proceedings, and show that the Duke of Bouillon suffered only through his own fault. It was for this reason that I took much more pains in the composition of this letter, and extended it to greater length than I should have done if Parabère only had been to see it; for I suspected, and with reason, that it would be made public.

I began with enumerating the chief favours which Bouillon had received from his majesty, who had preferred him to the Prince of Condé himself, made him Marshal of France, first gentleman of the bedchamber, and raised him, before any other of the Protestants, to all honours and dignities, rewarded him with pensions and appointments much larger than what were given to the others—his pensions, salaries, &c., amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand livres a year; besides which, his majesty had married him as advantageously as he could have done his own son or brother, favoured him in the succession of Limeuil, and, after the death of the duchess his wife, supported him with all his power; this particular I was myself a witness of, and I spoke

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of it as such. These acts of kindness and these repeated benefits I contrasted with the ingratitude with which Bouillon had behaved to Henry; his secret practices, his seditious conduct at the siege of Amiens, his retiring from court when Marshal Biron was arrested, and his leaving the kingdom, which was attended with circumstances more than sufficient to condemn him. I took Parabère to witness, that notwithstanding all this, himself, Constant, and I, had been greatly instrumental in soliciting those favours which his majesty had since been still willing to bestow upon him; I observed to him that Bouillon had in some sort confessed himself guilty of high treason, by his requesting a full and general pardon, and when his majesty appeared ready to grant it, he eluded all by a subterfuge, which was in itself a crime; for, though a subject and domestic of the king, from whom alone he held the principality of Sedan, he refused to hold it upon the same conditions of protection which the late Duke of Bouillon had accepted from Francis II., of whom he was neither a subject nor domestic.

I afterwards enumerated all the conciliatory methods which some of his chief friends had sent Du Maurier to propose to him, with full assurance that his majesty would consent to them, namely, that it should be proposed to the king that Sedan should be considered as one of the cautionary cities given to the Protestants; that the duke should sell it to the king, or, if not, that La Noue should be made governor of it, the sovereignty, and even property, remaining to the duke: but that while the king offered him more than he had reason to expect, he would listen to nothing, and, by his ill-timed obstinacy, oblige us to draw our swords against each other, and to reduce the church of Sedan to the extremity it would be shortly in: that his majesty was so greatly affected at this misfortune, that he had resolved, and even faithfully promised the deputies from the Church, to make no change, or introduce any innovation in the religion of Sedan, although he should take it by storm. I concluded with earnestly entreating Parabère to do me justice in public, as to the purity of my intentions, and my grief at beholding one, who professed the same religion as myself, running so blindly upon his destruction.

Henry thought it necessary to use the same precaution

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with the Protestant party. Bouillon having made, by La Nouë, some proposals not fit to be received, the king published and answered them by a writing, which was distributed among the duke's friends, though at the hazard of confirming both him and them in their belief, that his majesty was desirous of ending this affair by gentle means; and they accordingly gave out that the king now despaired more than ever of the success of his enterprise; to which Bouillon added (as it was reported by La Viéville, Aërsens, and Du Maurier, who were deputed to him at different times), that it was I who thus rashly engaged his majesty, against his inclinations, in a war; and that I one day boasted to this prince I would take Sedan in three months, by attacking it on the side of the Fer-à-Cheval. This last report indeed was true, and made the king begin to reflect upon the pretended fidelity of those he had admitted into his councils; for when those words escaped me there were none present but the king, Don John, and Erard. Bouillon accordingly considered and treated me as one of his most dangerous enemies, who endeavoured to suppress every favourable thought which arose in the mind of his majesty for him. It was the king's part to answer this reproach, and he did it in the manner I wished; and as for those other reports, which were still more insolent, he resolved to force Bouillon soon to change his style.

His majesty left Fontainebleau the latter end of March, carrying with him the queen, who would go part of the journey,* notwithstanding the badness of the roads; and took his route by Rheims, Rhétel, Mézières, Donchéry, and Mousson. As I did not see his majesty again till the whole affair was concluded, I shall take the relation I give of it from the letters he wrote to me, and those which by his orders were continually sent me by Villeroy and La Varenne.

Bouillon persisted in his first arrogance as long as he could: he boasted to Du Maurier, that as soon as he sounded a trumpet he would drive the forces of France from his gates. The king, while he pursued Bouillon with arms, was desirous

* The queen only made this journey, according to De Thou, the "Merc. Franç.," and the most authentic memoirs of that time, in order to obtain the most advantageous conditions that were possible for the Duke of Bouillon, who had engaged her in his interest.

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also that preparations should be made for his trial, which he commanded me to push on vigorously before I set out to join him. The duke tampered so successfully with four of his majesty's gunners, that they suffered themselves to be prevailed on to desert him, making use of the horses he sent them to La Fère in Tarténois for that purpose; a crime which well deserved an exemplary punishment. Although the Duchess of Bouillon did not leave Sedan, yet he managed with such art, that those whom his majesty employed to bring him an account of everything that was doing there, reported that she had retired to Germany, to avoid the inconveniences she might be exposed to in a besieged city. He was heard to boast likewise, that by stamping his foot upon the ground he would bring four thousand men into Sedan, and would have had it believed that he had the absolute disposal of seventeen companies of horse, and some regiments of foot, which were in Luxembourg; and that he should procure a powerful supply from the Swiss Cantons. The most circumstantial advices we received were, that before the 20th of April he expected to be reinforced by five or six hundred soldiers, which he had caused to be levied in Gascony and in the neighbourhood of Limeuil, and had ordered to embark at Bordeaux. A nephew of Rignac, and a man named Prépondié, raised them, under colour of being recruits for the war in Flanders; his majesty had received notice of this from Pucharnaut, while he was still in Paris.

These advices, upon a nearer examination, were found to have greatly exaggerated the truth: it was known that Germany did not offer to stir in the Duke of Bouillon's cause; the king was well assured by Bongars, that the archdukes testified more fear of our armament for themselves, than inclination to declare against us; Spain thought the occasion too slight to break the peace with France; and England had not the smallest consideration for Bouillon: three or four hundred Swiss adventurers were all that he could depend upon, and this number was likely to be lessened, since our levies against him were carried on in those cantons without any opposition. Montglat had not yet seen the elector palatine, but he wrote from Strasburg that this prince shared in Bouillon's fears, and the landgrave sent letters to France to notify his intentions to us.

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As to what the duke could do alone, every one knew that he had not more than twelve hundred soldiers in Sedan; and we were afterwards more particularly informed, that he had, in reality, but seven or eight hundred, citizens and adventurers together, part of whom also seemed to have an inclination to leave the place before the approach of the king's army. It was reported that Bouillon himself had retired into Germany, escorted for some leagues by his garrison, and had been seen near Bascogne by some soldiers who knew him, and to whom he spoke. Some particulars, with regard to the orders he had given in Sedan for the castle and town, gave room to believe that he did not design to return: but this news, which the governor of Ville-Franche came express to relate to the king, was found to be false; the Duke of Nevers, who was better informed, wrote the king word that the Duke of Bouillon had indeed marched out of the town, at the head of three or four hundred men, but it was to meet a German prince, with whom he returned to Sedan the night after. Although the several informations given his majesty by his agents did not exactly agree in every circumstance, yet it was known, from very good authority, that Bouillon was not far from his city. This German count, whom, it was said, he had brought into Sedan to undergo a siege there, was the third of the counts of Solme: the eldest was grand master to the elector palatine; we have seen the second with the Sieur Du Plesson: as for this, his knowledge and experience were not spoken of very advantageously.

The king was indisposed at Nanteuil with a cold, which did not hinder him from hunting as soon as he began to recover: he wrote me word from this place on the 27th of March, that he had missed of his stag, but to make amends for that, he had taken two wolves, which he looked upon as a favourable augury; at Fresne he found four companies of the regiment of guards, already recruited with seven hundred men, whom he permitted to stay there till the 1st of April, to raise all the recruits they wanted. It was easy to perceive the heart of Henry expand itself, and a martial ardour appear in his countenance, at his resuming his first glorious occupation. He went two leagues from Fresne to dine, and from thence to attend the service called the *Ténèbres* at Rheims. Here he continued till the Wednesday following,

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when he was joined by the Duke of Mercœur, and all the nobility of the country. Here also he saw Du Maurier, who came from Sedan, commissioned by the Duke of Bouillon to tell him that he consented to receive a person there in the king's name, provided that he were invested with no authority, and that his garrison should remain there, commanded by his own officer; that he was ready likewise to receive his majesty into Sedan with what train he should think proper, and all whom he chose to depute to him, but that he persisted in his resolution to be sole master of his own city; and rather than resign it, he would be contented to lose his estates, his children, and his life. But in proportion as the danger came nearer, the duke's pride abated.

The king, without returning any answer to this proposal, sent the Duke of Nevers * to Mousson, to assemble what cavalry was come thither, and hinder those supposed troops of the Duke of Bouillon from entering Sedan; the whole number amounted but to three hundred men, Swiss and Germans included; and there was no appearance that any more supplies would be sent him, his majesty being then in a condition to prevent them. The king discovered great impatience to advance towards this city, but he had yet only his regiment of guards with him; the recruits of light-horse arrived in good order, but the remainder of the troops were not to join him till the 4th of April. The king did me the honour to write to me twice from Rheims, on the 24th and 26th of March, pressing me to come thither to him with my son; he proposed to set out on the 27th for Rhétel, and to be at Mousson on the 30th, which was the day prescribed for the rendezvous of the regiment of guards, although the roads were rendered almost impassable by the rains. His majesty wrote to me also to send him some officers and horses, with a convoy of pickaxes, shovels, and mattocks, and some pieces of cannon of a moderate size, to strengthen his lodgment.

Nevertheless, very little dependance was to be placed upon all these appearances, as, notwithstanding the preparations for war, so many persons were labouring to conclude the affair by way of negotiation; and, in effect, the party

* Charles de Gonzague de Cleves, Duke of Nevers.

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that was for peace in a short time prevailed. His majesty, however, was but ill satisfied with the last proposals which Du Maurier had brought from Bouillon, and which, by the king's order, were communicated to the keeper of the great seal and to me. His majesty was yet more offended with the memorial, in which it seemed as if the duke wanted to treat with Henry as his equal. Aërsens, of his own accord, went to Bouillon after Du Maurier had presented this impertinent memorial to the king; but Bouillon, after this sacrifice to his vanity, comprehended that it was at last time to change his language, which, all of a sudden, he softened very much; in consequence of which he deputed Nétancour* to entreat his majesty to send Villeroy to confer and treat with him; to which the king consented, on condition that the conference should be held at Torcy, in the dominions of France. The last act of extravagance of this man, who certainly deserved worse than what actually befel him, was to send back Aërsens, who, with Henry's leave, had been with him, and to declare by him that he disclaimed Nétancour, and that he could do without Villeroy.

Henry must have had some powerful reasons, though unknown to me, which made him depute, as he did after all this, Villeroy and Dinteville,† in order to throw the whole blame of the miscarriage of the accommodation upon Bouillon. With them it appears that Bouillon showed neither ill-humour, nor a disinclination to treat. Villeroy himself wrote me word of what passed between them, and subjoined to his letter a long memorial, which he wrote the same evening, being the 30th of March, after he had returned to Donchéry. If I was to believe Villeroy (for we shall immediately see the reasons I had to doubt his sincerity), he found Bouillon so dark and irresolute, that he could not answer for anything till another interview, nay, until Bouillon had not only concluded and signed the treaty, but also begun to execute it. Now, how shall we be able to reconcile this with what follows immediately after, where he says that it seems as if the Duke of Bouillon were coming to reason, but by supposing that he

* John de Nétancour, Count of Vaubecourt, councillor of state, camp-marshal, lieutenant-general of the city and bishopric of Verdun, and Governor of Châlons in Champagne: he died in 1642.

† Joachim de Dinteville, Governor of Champagne.

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could not help throwing out some dark hints of his knowledge of the treaty being much nearer a conclusion than he cared to tell me? He further acquainted me that a second conference was to be held the next morning at Donchéry, which would oblige the king to spend another day in that place.

As a proof that Villeroy did not communicate to me the whole of this affair, La Varenne, who wrote to me at the same time, informed me that Bouillon had presented himself at the conference with the air of a man who asked quarter; for which conduct, says he, he had very good reason, as, after having made his utmost efforts, after having exhausted his small territory by levies on all sides, he could raise no more than fifteen hundred raw men, none of whom had ever seen an engagement, with a few French and German foot-soldiers, and only twenty-five Swiss, all the rest of his troops being in a most wretched condition, except some Flemings from Frankendal and the neighbouring country. Therefore, if in this extremity the Duchess of Bouillon had not yet left Sedan, there was no reason to doubt but that her husband had resolved to accept of any conditions whatever, so that the treaty might be looked upon as in a manner concluded, it being only to save his character from the reproach of so hasty a capitulation that the duke had demanded, as a favour, a respite till the next morning.

All was accordingly concluded in this second conference. Villeroy was, in appearance, very eager to acquaint me with the news, since he wrote to me immediately after, as he had done the day before; but he took care to conceal part of what had passed, as we shall soon see. In this second letter, however, he promised to send me the treaty itself, as soon as it was fairly transcribed and signed, which was to be done the next morning; but in the mean time he specified the principal articles: the treaty was entitled, "Articles of the Protection of Sedan and Raucourt," and dated April the 2nd, 1606, and to remain in force four years. By this treaty, the Duke of Bouillon consented that the king should place a governor in the castle, with a company of fifty men; and that the inhabitants of Sedan should take the oath of fidelity to the king, which Bouillon also engaged to do himself. Villeroy filled up the rest of his letter with the praises which he

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said his majesty publicly bestowed on my vigilance, and the advice I had given on this occasion; yet surely this was unnecessary, for all my endeavours and all my counsels produced nothing; therefore, I was not to be dazzled by Villeroy's flattery, nor could I alter my opinion of his proceedings.

I had no reason to doubt that his majesty sincerely desired to give me some part in the conclusion of this affair, after the assurances I had received from him, and the letters he wrote to me, for no other purpose but to press me to come, that nothing might be done without me. I do not pretend to know Villeroy's reasons for thinking so differently from his majesty in this respect; perhaps he was afraid I should deprive him of the honour of this treaty, or probably he thought Bouillon might, by my interposition, obtain terms more advantageous; in which case our friendship would unite us against his policy, which was to keep the most considerable Protestants at variance with each other. This, however, was certain, that he pressed the conclusion of the affair so much the more eagerly, as his majesty appeared solicitous for my being present, and repeated his invitations for me to come; and, to effect this purpose, did not scruple to make use of a little artifice. Henry having given him the letters before mentioned to be despatched for me, he committed them to the care of a servant, whom he ordered to ride slowly into Amiens, Saint Quentin, and Rheims, that I might not receive them till I had got another letter from his majesty, which he wrote to me eight days afterwards, and was brought to me by a courier, sent expressly with it. My astonishment may be easily imagined, when by these last despatches I found that his majesty was under great uneasiness on my account, fearing that I was indisposed, since he had received no answers to letters he had written to me eight days before, which was the cause that everything had been concluded without me. In this letter, which was dated Saturday, April the 1st, Henry desired me to delay no longer, but to leave my heavy baggage at Châlons, and to meet him on the Monday following at Cazine, whither he went to see the queen.

Having received both these letters in one day, at Suippe, I saw I had not a moment to lose, if I would meet his majesty

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at the place appointed. I found, by the reception he gave me, that, after a little reflection, he would easily pardon the fault Villeroy had committed with regard to me.* This prince treated me with more than usual kindness and respect, sup-

* De Thou, in the account he gives of this expedition to Sedan (b. cxxxvi.), shows but a small degree of inclination to the Duke of Sully, but a great deal to the Duke of Bouillon. He would persuade us that Henry IV. having been convinced, during this journey, that M. de Sully persecuted the Marshal de Bouillon only from a personal enmity to him, he was glad to take the opportunity his absence afforded to conclude this affair by a treaty, because in reality his connexions with Messieurs de Biron and D'Auvergne had not extended to anything criminal. The evidence of the "Merc. Franç.," of almost all the historians, and of the author of the Apology for the Duke of Bouillon himself, who, on the contrary, speaks more favourably on this occasion of the Duke of Sully than of the Duke of Bouillon; and the other proofs interspersed through these Memoirs, incontestably evince, according to my judgment, the invalidity of what M. de Thou here asserts, of the opinion Henry IV. formed of the Duke of Bouillon's sentiments and disposition. A quite different degree of credit is due to facts established on the evidence of original letters and discourses, as the greatest part of those produced in the Duke of Sully's Memoirs, and the present in particular, are, than to such as are founded only on the testimony of public report: and, if I am not mistaken, it would not be difficult to convince M. de Thou that he is inconsistent with himself in what he says on this subject. It may be asked, what was it then that occasioned that precipitation in concluding the treaty, that appearance of favour which is manifest in it, that mystery which M. de Sully himself insinuates the king made of it with respect to him? I subscribe to the reasons Marsolier gives: first, that Henry IV. had no mind to ruin the Duke of Bouillon, but only to make him sensible of the weight of his power, to confine him within the bounds of his duty for the future: secondly, that the Duke of Bouillon, seeing the instrument of his association with Messieurs de Biron and D'Auvergne in the hands of M. de Villeroy, thought it high time to make his submission to the king in earnest, in order to obtain his pardon, which his haughtiness prevented him from asking, so long as he could flatter himself his machinations were concealed: thirdly, that on due reflection, Henry IV. concluded the Duke of Bouillon would be able to do him less mischief at Sedan than anywhere else, and that for this reason he was so far from driving him from thence, that he sent him back thither in a month's time afterwards. As to M. de Villeroy, whose behaviour on this occasion the author condemns, he certainly acted only in obedience to the king's orders, and in conformity to his intention; and he is therefore greatly commended on account of this negotiation, in the 8477th volume of the royal MSS. (See the historians, and especially the "Merc. Franç.," anno 1606. No writer has given so minute a relation of this fact, as is contained in these Memoirs.)

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posing, perhaps, that I resented his not waiting for me. "You are welcome," said he to me, aloud; "I have provided a supper and a bed for you; you shall have good accommodations." "Can you guess," said he afterwards, in a low voice, and leaning towards me, "why I have made such haste? It was because I knew that, as soon as you arrived, you would be for viewing everything, and throwing yourself into the most dangerous places, so that I was apprehensive of some accident happening to you; and I would rather Sedan had never been taken than hazard such a misfortune, for I have need of you for affairs of much more consequence."

After this, any reflections I should make upon this agreement, and the whole conduct of the affair, might possibly not be free from partiality; all I shall say, therefore, is, that the Duke of Bouillon had reason to think himself very happy that he got off at so easy a rate, after having obliged his majesty to set an army on foot, and bring a train of fifty pieces of cannon within fifteen or twenty paces of Sedan, while he himself advanced almost to its very walls. All this Henry acknowledged, and sometimes he was greatly enraged at the duke's conduct; but his natural clemency prevailed. He made his entry into Sedan on the 2nd of April, and left there fifty men, with Nétancour at their head. Bouillon came afterwards to pay homage to his majesty, who sent for me to be present at this ceremony, which was performed in the king's chamber so early in the morning that the duke found his majesty still in bed.*

I visited the town the next day, where, instead of those powerful supplies which were to come from all parts of Christendom to the duke's assistance, three hundred miserable lansquenets, and twenty-five Swiss, were all the foreign troops I saw there; everything else was in proportion, the cannon in very bad order, with four or five unskilful gunners to attend them, no place fit to receive them, no fascines, gabions, pickaxes, or planks; in a word, none of the usual preparations for withstanding a siege. It was not possible for me to restrain myself from expressing my astonishment

* Henry IV. obligingly answered him, that it was not so much his city of Sedan which tempted him, as the good services he expected from him personally. (MSS., ibid.)

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to the Duke of Bouillon, who was present at the survey, and who, not being pleased either with my observations, or the freedom of them, began a debate, which he supported with more heat than was necessary. But, however ingenious his vanity might be, the inequality of the two parties was so palpable, that it was considered by our neighbours that he had prevented his total ruin only by an implicit submission. Cardinal Du Perron sent me a letter of congratulation from Rome, in which he said, quoting an ancient author, that wars ought to be carried on with vigour and rapidity, for by that means we save both time and expense; those conquests which are made by the terror of arms are more expeditious, and extend further, than those which are gained by arms themselves. The pope spoke publicly of this expedition in very advantageous terms, and I was convinced that, in all other countries, people thought of it in the same manner as they did at Rome. This gave some consolation, that the reputation of our arms did not suffer.

I proposed likewise to indemnify ourselves in some measure for the expenses of this armament by reducing to his majesty's subjection the fortress of the Earldom of St. Paul. And here it is necessary to refer to what I have already said concerning the acquisition of this earldom in 1604, that when Gouillouaire came from the Count of Soissons to propose this bargain to the king, his majesty, in my absence, intrusted the management of the affair to MM. Bellièvre, Villeroy, Sillery, and Maisses; and that upon the difficulties which I represented to this prince would arise in the affair, he caused a contract to be drawn up, in the name of a third person, until, by making himself master of those forts, they should be declared his by right of conquest.

When Henry proposed to me to pay the troops and disband them, "How! Sire," I replied, "disband them! What then will become of your contract for the Earldom of St. Paul? Have you forgotten the resolution you made when it was passed? Since you have been at the expense of raising an army, what now remains but to employ it that way?" I represented to his majesty that it would be the work of fifteen days only. The Spaniards had not the least expectation of such an attempt, and when it did happen could have no just cause to complain, since the king only made use of

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that power granted by treaties to the Earls of Saint-Paul, to choose between France and Spain, which should be declared to the council of Madrid at the same time that we set forward. "I am convinced," said Henry, after having heard me attentively, "that you are in the right; but it requires some deliberation before we engage in this affair; and I wish to mention it to the principal persons here with me, and to my ordinary council." I know not with whom his majesty consulted, or what advice was given him, but two days afterwards this prince took me aside, and endeavoured to persuade me that at present it was best to let this affair sleep. I confess, when I quitted the king, I could not help saying, "*Ah! de pardieu!* I find we are going to put our swords in the scabbards. With so fine an army, and so favourable an opportunity of employing it, we are preparing to disband our men." I was not able to alter the king's resolution; the troops were paid and disbanded, and I sent back the artillery to Paris.

The king having a desire to enter his capital with a discharge of all the ordnance, La Varenne, by his order, came to acquaint me with it. "What does the king mean, Monsieur La Varenne?" cried I, surprised at the proposal; "we have not drawn our swords nor fired a single cannon, and shall we play the victors,—we who in two respects are the vanquished, for we have bought with too great credulity what the king ought only to hold by his own courage, and afterwards have been afraid to publish our own acquisition. I was always apprehensive that things would be managed thus; tell the king that every one thinks as I do on this occasion, and would laugh at us if we fired the cannon." I probably carried my freedom a little too far, but the grief I felt at what had happened was the cause of it. The king could not hear this answer without great emotion; he concealed it from no one but myself. Praslin, and afterwards Béthune, came back immediately, to tell me from him, with great gentleness, that there was nothing unreasonable in what his majesty required of me. And I, in my turn, thought I was able to convince them to the contrary. Henry began now to be extremely enraged with me, gave my resistance very harsh names, and sent me an absolute command to obey him: which I did with such expedition, and

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with so great a noise of the artillery, that he was appeased immediately, and sent for me to come and embrace him.* Bouillon was in the king's train when he made his entry; he would certainly have injured his majesty greatly to have feared from him any appearance of contempt. The king resumed his former familiarity with him; and if there was any change in his behaviour it was only to greater kindness and respect.

About this time broke out the famous quarrel between Pope Paul V. and the Venetians; the foundation of it had been laid long before, on occasion of some pretended ecclesiastical rights which the holy father, at a very unseasonable time, undertook to maintain against this republic, who, on their side, opposed them by very firm decrees.† Fresne-Canaye,

* The Journal of Henry IV. makes no mention of this dispute, but on the contrary, says that M. de Rosny was at the king's side, conversing with him, and showing him some beautiful ladies: that the Marshal de Bouillon was very plainly dressed and mounted, and his look very sorrowful. A letter written by the king to the Princess of Orange on the surrender of Sedan, is set forth in this journal in these words: "Cousin, I may say as Cæsar did, *Veni, vidi, vici:* or, as the song does, 'Three days my love will last, and in three days 'tis past;' so much was I in love with Sedan. You are now able to judge whether I was in the right or not, and whether I did not know the condition of that place better than those who wished to make me believe I should not be able to take it in less than three years," &c. M. de Thou is also mistaken, when he says (ibid.) that the Duke of Bouillon did not arrive till three days after. (See the "Merc. Franç.," where a description of his majesty's entry into Paris is given.)

† By one of the decrees of the 10th January, 1603, it is forbidden to build any church without leave from the government; and by a second, of the 26th of March, 1605, ecclesiastics and persons holding in mortmain are restrained from making any acquisition without special authority. I shall not enter into a discussion of these points of law, there being an infinity of treatises written at that time on each side of the question; the chief are those which came from the pen of Cardinal Baronius, in favour of the pope: and of Friar Paul Sarpi, a monk of the order of the Servites, on behalf of the Venetians. All these may be seen in M. de Thou, the "Merc. Franç.," Matthieu, an. 1606, and other historians; and in particular in the writings upon this famous dispute. The Jesuits, the Capuchins, and a small number of other monks, were all that paid any obedience to the interdiction, and thereby got themselves driven out of the Venetian territories. The excommunication was treated with contempt by all the other orders in the republic, and divine service continued to be performed as before. It is reported that the vicar-general to the Bishop of Padua, saying to

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our ambassador at Venice, had given me notice of it in the month of October. These decrees, joined to the imprisonment of two ecclesiastics by an arrêt of the senate, the interdict fulminated by the pope upon their refusal to revoke those decrees, and to do him justice with regard to their imprisonment; and, lastly, the protestation lately made by the republic against this excommunication, had brought matters to extremities on both sides.

To speak candidly my sentiments of this affair, I thought the proceedings of both parties much the same, equally violent and imprudent. I have ever had a real respect for Paul V., and have professed to honour him greatly; nor do I think what I am going to say has anything in it contrary to these sentiments. We live not in those times when the popes exercised that spiritual authority from which they thought, and with reason, their greatest advantages were derived, and exercised it in such manner as gave them, in reality, a sovereign power over the princes and states in Christendom. At present, their usurpation of temporal authority is clearly known and distinguished, and is strongly contested with them. I may almost venture to say that they are disabled with regard to their spiritual power; at least, it is certain that the Reformation has deprived them of two-thirds of it at once; an example so recent, and so easy to imitate, that it was certainly very injudicious in the court of Rome to expose the republic of Venice to such a temptation, surrounded as it is by provinces who have shaken off the yoke of the apostolical see, and who would receive them with open arms as soon as they had done the like: I speak of the Lutherans and all the Protestants of Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, and Transylvania; to whom may be added the schismatic Greeks and Turks. Rome should reflect upon the ravages made in her empire by three or four monks only, and that this misfortune happened through the ill-timed pride of Leo X. and Clement VII., too like what Paul V. discovered in the present juncture.

The Venetians, it is probable, ran greater risks than the

the governor that he would act on this occasion as the Holy Ghost should inspire him, the governor made answer, that the Holy Ghost had already inspired the Council of Ten to order all those to be hanged who should refuse to obey the order of the senate.

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pope, by making him their enemy. All these discussions, which at first the contending parties pretended to regulate and guide by the judgment or award of conscience, terminate, sooner or later, in being supported by arms, when, as it always happens, arguments, far from being relished, give rise to proceedings more and more violent. And there is nothing which this republic ought so carefully to avoid as war, since she may be convinced that if the Emperor and the King of Spain do not prosecute their claims upon her dominions, which they scarcely ever conceal, it is certainly because they have not pretences in readiness, or want opportunities. It is the part of the Venetian policy, therefore, to aim continually at maintaining the republic and all Italy in the state they are at present; to them no change can be advantageous, while any revolution cannot but be fatal. I have often examined this matter in my conversations with the Cardinals de Joyeuse and Du Perron, and laboured with more candour than is generally shown by a zealous Huguenot, to find out means to prevent the new religion from getting a footing either in Italy or Spain, provided that they, on their side, would promise that the pope, who was the head of Italy, should spare himself the trouble of taking any interest in that part of Europe with which he had no connexion; for it has been always my opinion that the true system of politics, that which may give and preserve tranquillity to Europe, depends upon firmly fixing her in this equilibrium.

Could they have thought in this manner at Rome and at Venice, every one there would have conspired to stifle the present quarrel in its birth; and for this a seasonable and mild discussion had been sufficient: those affairs in appearance the most intricate and perplexed are still capable of being happily tempered by proper management, and this more than many others. We ought to consider them without any regard to the consequences, with which it is wrong to alarm oneself, for we should never be alarmed with what is merely possible; but they had designedly increased the difficulties, by proposing things which always rendered the prudence of the ablest mediators ineffectual. The malicious insinuations of those persons who sought to take advantage of this disunion had also some share in heightening it. If there be a person in the world who, amidst the emotions of

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anger, is capable of listening to the voice of reason, I should advise him then to distrust the discourse of those persons who, when thus agitated, offer to assist his vengeance; it is on such an occasion that hatred and envy lay their most dangerous snares.

Canaye,* when he consulted me upon what, as ambassador from France, it was proper for him to do in the present posture of affairs, thought it necessary, for my better information, to send me a long memorial of the grievances complained of, and the arguments used by both parties. I made no great use of this paper; for to examine their reasons and pronounce upon each would not have been serving them effectually; I therefore told Canaye plainly in my answer that, without having any regard to the foundation of the quarrel, the Venetians had no other part to take but to refer themselves to arbitrators, who might perform the office of a common friend to both, by pacifying their resentment, not judging with rigour. I named the King of France as being, in my opinion, the only one who was likely to produce this effect; and recommended to them to employ the nuncio Barberini, whose wisdom and integrity I was well assured of, to lay a report of the whole before his majesty. They followed my advice, but not immediately; passion had asserted its usual dominion before. However, during the rest of the year, it was confined to writings, wherein invective was carried to great excess; but, happily, the contending parties were the two powers in Europe who were slowest in declaring war, which was what each relied on. We shall see in the following year the event of this quarrel. It was of some use to the nuncio Barberini in obtaining for him a cardinal's hat, which the pope sent him upon making a promotion of cardinals, out of the usual order of time. His majesty, to whom he was chiefly obliged for this dignity, congratulated him upon it. Barberini often declared that he had a good friend about the king in me; Cardinal du Perron thought likewise that my interest had been of some use to him with regard to the archbishopric of Sens and the post of grand-almoner, both of which were bestowed upon him by his majesty; he

* Philip Canaye, lord of Fresne.

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made his acknowledgments to me for this service, and entreated me to procure him, during his absence, the enjoyment of all the privileges of his office.

The citizens of Metz received a service of still greater importance from me, on occasion of the dispute they had about this time with the Jesuits. These fathers had two years before made an attempt to procure a settlement in Metz, the inhabitants of which avoided the blow by an application to his majesty, which I supported. The Jesuits returning to the charge, I again encouraged the people, sending them an account by Saint-Germain and Des Bordes, and afterwards by La Nouë, of the king's opinion of the matter. But at the beginning of this year their fears were again awakened, by the Jesuits raising new batteries, stronger than before; obliging the clergy, and all the Catholic burghers, to unite with them; they had likewise secured the vote of the Duke of Epernon, who was governor of Metz, and arrived there on the 15th of April, to put the last hand to the work; at least, this was what the people apprehended, and that the governor acted in this affair only by the king's orders. Alarmed at his arrival, they sent me a letter the next day, which was followed by another, dated April 25, and delivered to me by the Sieur Braconnier, who was strictly charged to urge all the reasons that had induced me to undertake their defence, which they were afraid I might have forgotten; they likewise deputed two of their countrymen, one after the other, to court, to attend to this affair; not, as these Protestants said, that they were apprehensive the Jesuits would turn them from their faith, but because they were persuaded the Society, by its intrigues, would cause some revolution at Metz, the consequences of which, in a city so lately reunited to the crown, might be fatal.

It was by this motive that I endeavoured to gain over his majesty, who likewise knew the importance of this city to his great designs. I filled the inhabitants with joy when I sent them word by their last deputy that the king had granted their request, and would suffer no innovation to be made in their city, which I assured them of in the king's name. They made me greater acknowledgments in a third letter, dated the 10th of July; but I could perceive they were not

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quite freed from their fears, their adversaries boasting, they said, that it was in their power to alter the king's determination.

In effect, the Jesuits received every day such striking proofs of the king's favour and protection, as might well authorise the fears of the people of Metz; this very year Henry made them a present of one hundred thousand crowns for their college of La Flèche alone, and condescended to regulate the disposal of it himself in the following manner: one hundred and sixty-five thousand livres for building the college; twenty-one thousand for the purchase of the ground; seventy-five thousand in lieu of church lands, which were seized upon, in order to erect a perpetual revenue for this house; for as these lands were possessed by persons who were not ecclesiastics, it was allowable to compel them to sell (and that step was here actually taken), a pecuniary equivalent being granted them; twelve thousand for a dwelling-house for the fathers; three thousand to purchase books for them; as much for the decorations of their church; six thousand for their subsistence for the present year (for Henry forgot nothing), and fifteen thousand which had been lent them by La Varenne after they came to La Flèche, which this prince kept an account of. This grant was dated October 16, and signed by the king.

I shall now lay before the reader another very extraordinary document: a councillor of the parliament, named Gillot,* had in the year 1603 lent a book to Father Cotton, which he could not get again, though he had several times asked the father for it; at length he sent a servant to demand it, with orders not to leave him till it was returned; the councillor getting his book by these means, happened, on opening it, to find a sheet of paper between the leaves, which had apparently been forgotten by the Jesuit, and was written all over with his own hand: this paper seemed to him to be worth my notice; he brought it to me, and after obliging me to promise that I would not name him in the affair, he left the paper in my hands, to make what use of it I thought proper. After convincing myself that it was the handwriting of

* James Gillot, councillor-clerk in the great chamber of the Parliament of Paris.

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Father Cotton, which it was easy to do with the assistance of some letters Gillot knew I had received from him, we accordingly compared them, and found them exactly the same: the following is a translation of it, for it was in Latin, and contained a long list of questions which the Jesuit designed to ask the devil when he exorcised a certain person who was possessed, and who made much noise at this time:* the reader will find questions of every kind in it, those merely of curiosity, some trifling and even ridiculous, and others upon subjects which it is not fit for me to examine into. The writing begins thus:

"By the merits of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, apostles; of Sainte Prisca, the virgin martyr; of Saint Moses and Ammon, martyred soldiers; of Saint Antenogenus, martyr and theologian; of Saint Volusien, Bishop of Tours; of Saint Leobard, the monk, and of Sainte Liberata, the virgin."

After this follow the questions which the exorcist designs to ask the demon; they are without method or connexion, the author having, no doubt, just thrown them on paper as they occurred to his mind; and some are expressed in such a manner, as makes it impossible to guess at his meaning.

"All that God permits me to know" (observe that it is Father Cotton that speaks) "with regard to the king and queen; with regard to those who live at court; with regard to public and private informations; with regard to the news of life and the right way; with regard to those who converse with princes; with regard to Laval, divine service, the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, vows, the ceremonies of conse-

* Her name was Adrienne de Fresne; she was born in the village of Gerbigny, near Amiens; afterwards she settled at Paris, in St. Anthony's-street. She drew to the convent of St. Victor, where she was exorcised, almost as great a concourse of people as Martha Brossier had done to St. Geneviève. De Thou, who has not suffered this piece of history to pass unnoticed, speaking of Father Cotton as one of her principal exorcists, according to his custom, treats that father's curiosity on this occasion with great severity: he further observes, that Henry IV. earnestly desired the Duke of Sully to prevent this writing from becoming public; and that the contrary, either through imprudence or by some other means, having happened, he pretended to treat the thing as a matter of no moment before his court; though inwardly he was much displeased with Father Cotton. (De Thou, book cxxxii.)

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cration, and cases of conscience, the conversion of souls, and canonisation, and if it may be permitted me to insist further, with regard to the war against the Spaniards and heretics, the voyage to New France, and all the coasts opposite to America; and with regard to the means I ought to use, in order to persuade men with efficacy, so as to induce them to forsake their sins. To know from the devil what danger it may be in my power to prevent, and that he would inform me what . . . . If the person possessed hath been baptised; if she be a religious; if any foul play hath been meditated by the malice of Clarençal against Mary de Valence,* or against the soul of La Faye. To ask the demon when Clarençal will go from home, the time, and the means, and if it will be at night; if I have any concealed danger to apprehend; if languages are inspired from God; by what means Chamières-Ferrier . . . ; by what means, or by reading what books, we may render sermons most useful; what is my greatest danger; what restitution his majesty is obliged to; what he (the demon) would have me to say to Dame Acharia,† Du Jardin, and the brothers and sisters; what was the apparition that was seen in Languedoc; if it be convenient that Mother Pasithea‡ should come, and Sister Anne de Saint Bartholomew go to Pont-à-Mousson; and if he would inform me what I ought to know with regard to the king and M. de Rosny; what hopes may be formed of his conversion; what Protestants at court are most easily converted; all the danger that may befal him who is delivered from demons; if I am not threatened on that occasion myself; what is most conducive to the conversion of heretics; what hinders the foundation of the college at Poictiers; what are the duties of a niece; what passage of Scripture is most clear and most efficacious to prove purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the power of the pope, and that his holiness is invested with the same power that Saint Peter had; where the animals drunk in Noah's ark; what sons of God loved the daughters of men; if the serpent walked on feet before Adam's fall; how long our fathers were in the terrestrial paradise; what

* One of Father Cotton's devotees.
† Another devotee of Father Cotton's.
‡ A nun, who will be mentioned again in these Memoirs.

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sort of spirits stand before the throne of God; if there is a king of the archangels; what ought to be done to establish a solid peace with Spain; if God will be pleased to inform me through thee when the heresy of Calvin will be extinct; of my father and his condition; of my brothers John and Anthony; how many passages of faith have been corrupted by the heretics; if it will please God to inform me of the Geneva plagiary; of the voyage of the father-general into Spain; of the brief, and father-general; with regard to Baqueville, and the young man who lives near Notre-Dame; when animals first migrated into the islands; and when the islands were first inhabited by men after Adam; where the terrestrial paradise is; how the King and Queen of England, and all the English nation, may be most easily converted; how to conquer the Turk, and make converts of the infidels; what part of the angels fell; what adoration the cherubims pay to the Supreme Being, and what are His ideas of it; how I may correct the errors I have committed, either in writing, printing my books, or in preaching; what embarrasses the demon and his companions in the ceremony of exorcising; what hath so often occasioned the preservation of Geneva; what he knows touching the king's health; what may unite the grandees of the realm with the king; how one may assist the Sieur de Verdun, and what his motives of action are; what regards the hostage towns; Lesdiguières and his conversion; the honour of my relics; the letters written to Madame de Clarençal; to be more than commonly particular with regard to that lady; what obstructs the college of Amiens and Troyes; of the duration of heresy."

The king, when he returned from Sedan, stayed a few days at Paris, and towards the end of April went to Fontainebleau, from whence he wrote to me that, by his physicians' prescriptions, he was beginning a strict regimen, which was to continue for ten days at least; upon which account he deferred for so long the ceremony of the feast of Whitsuntide, and sent orders to his council not to attend him for fifteen days. He permitted me to pass this interval at Sully, provided I sometimes came to visit him. By this remedy, together with perspiration, his health was greatly mended.

The affairs of greatest importance in which his majesty was employed at Fontainebleau were those which related to

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religion. The clergy of France assembling at Paris renewed their solicitations for the publication of the Council of Trent;* the public peace being concerned in this proposal, as well as in some others of the same nature, which it was resolved in the assembly should be made to the king. His majesty opposed them both with his arguments and authority, and treated the Protestants in the same manner, who, in imitation of the clergy, seemed disposed to abuse their privileges. Some provinces wrote to the deputies-general at court, to solicit the grant of a petition they sent the king for holding a national synod, while, at the same time, they laboured in other provinces to procure particular assemblies to be held, wherein it was the custom to appoint the deputies of the synod, and to draw up instructions upon the affairs which were to be treated therein. Henry had sent me orders by Villeroy on the 22nd of March to take proper measures on this occasion, in conjunction with my son, to whom he allowed me to give a share of almost every part of my business, and that I should afterwards confer with Servian, the deputy from Dauphiny. He wrote to me himself from Fontainebleau, desiring that I would send for the deputies-general, and oblige them to declare what were the intentions of the Protestant body, and to render their project ineffectual. I made him entirely easy on this head, by assuring him that if I could not hinder the synod from being convoked,† I

* In the "Merc. François," anno 1606, may be seen the remonstrance which the clergy got Jerome de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, to make to his majesty, with this answer to it by Henry IV.: "You have mentioned a council to me; I desire one may be called; but, as you rightly observe, the considerations of this world frequently clash with those of heaven: nevertheless, I shall always be ready to support the good of the Church, and the service of God, with the hazard of my blood and life. As to simony, and the holding benefices in trust for others, let those who are guilty, by their own reformation set others an example to do the like. In the elections you see my manner of proceeding; I am proud of the footing on which I have placed them, which is greatly different from what it was," &c. The king, notwithstanding, in consequence of their complaints, issued two edicts, prescribing many ecclesiastical regulations, which were confirmed, the one in 1608, the other in 1609. (See also M. de Thou, book cxxxiv.)

† In the royal MSS., see the original of a letter from M. de Sully, dated the 20th of May, 1606, directed to the Protestants of the pro-

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would at least contrive to have so many faithful servants of his there as should render them master of all the debates. It appeared necessary likewise to use this precaution in the private assembly of Dauphiny; and to satisfy the president Parquet, that he might not suffer his office, which he was desirous of resigning, to be filled by any of the factious party, I sent Bullion into Dauphiny, and Esperian into Guienne, with proper instructions how to act.

Des Ageaux dying this year, his post of king's lieutenant of St. Jean d'Angély was immediately solicited for by several persons, and among others by Beaulieu and La Roche-Beaucourt; the former had had a brevet for it before Des Ageaux, but the Duke of Epernon, Parabère, and all the burghers of St. John uniting in favour of La Roche-Beaucourt, his majesty ordered me to send for him, and to give him all the necessary instructions for the faithful execution of this office, which he had determined to entrust to him. I took care not to speak for the Duke of Rohan, Soubise* and he at that time not standing well in his majesty's opinion, on account of some steps taken by them, which others perhaps would tax only with imprudence, but I, who on such occasions am not accustomed to qualify my expressions, shall not scruple to call disobedient. Rohan applied to me to reinstate him in his majesty's favour as soon as he should have returned to Paris, towards the close of the year. The king, to whom I wrote, had the goodness to give me hopes that he would pardon the duke, and even furnished me with the means of improving this pardon, by bringing the criminal to him, after having first instructed him, by my son, either at his own or some other house, in all that he was to do to render his sovereign favourable to him, provided that Rohan did not put off till then a public acknowledgment of his fault, and sorrow for having committed it. As to the manner in which he should treat him, and how he should for the future

vince of Burgundy, by which he endeavours to dissuade them from this notion of holding a synod at Rochelle.

* Benjamin de Rohan-Soubise, brother of the Duke of Rohan, both of them sons of René, Duke of Rohan, and grandsons of John de Parthenay-Soubise. The Duke of Soubise was one of the principal leaders of the Calvinist party in France during the religious wars in the following reign.

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expect him to act with the Protestants, he deferred explaining himself till he came to Paris. With regard to Soubise, as he had demanded the king's permission before he went to Flanders, his majesty consented that he should wait for him at Paris, or come to him at Fontainebleau.

At La Rochelle new quarrels arose between the Protestants and the Roman Catholic clergy of that city, upon the extent and exercise of those privileges which the latter were to enjoy there. Both parties made reciprocal complaints of each other: the ecclesiastics, that their adversaries often attempted to do themselves justice by force of arms, which was always forbidden; the Protestants, that the clergy constantly suppressed the arrêts of council to authorise their encroachments; and both desired a decisive arrêt. The king, conceiving that an arrêt would increase their animosity, insisted upon my undertaking the office of mediator upon this occasion. I began by showing them separately what were their real interests; and, after I had assured myself of their obedience, dictated to them the following articles of accommodation, which will explain the causes of their disputes.

That the Protestants should not prohibit the ecclesiastics from visiting the hospitals and prisons, or from hearing confessions, provided all this was done without any pomp, especially that of carrying the sacrament to those places. That the clergy had no right to assist at burials and public ceremonies, to carry the cross there, or attend criminals to the place of punishment. That the ecclesiastics should receive no bad treatment, either in word or deed, when they passed through the streets in the habit of their order. That the Protestants should not make any opposition to the building of their church there; nor to the commissioners appointed by them to mark out the place, provided this place was neither inconvenient, nor suspected by the city; in either of which cases they should assign them another, or leave this point to be decided by the king and his council. I regulated likewise some other articles relating to the police, namely, that the Catholics should be contented with the share they had in the public posts and offices, to which they should be raised by a majority of votes, and the usual methods; but with respect to mechanical trades and corporations, as there was no reason why they should be excluded from them, the

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Protestants, by driving away their youth from the shops of the Catholics, had set an example of violence to those cities where the Catholic party was the strongest.

During these discussions great preparations were making at Paris for the ceremony of the baptism of the dauphin and the two princesses of France.* The Duchess of Mantua, who was to have the principal part in this solemnity, set out from Italy with a train of two hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty attendants. She arrived at Nancy in the beginning of June, and from thence her train and those belonging to the Duke of Lorraine sent to know of his majesty if, at the end of eight days, which she proposed to stay at Nancy, she might continue her journey. This requiring some consideration, Henry wrote to me, for I was then at Sully, to come to Paris on the 4th or 5th of June; adding, that he would come thither himself the latter end of May, and till I arrived make some short excursions to St. Germain, to see his children; and likewise that he thought it necessary to send some person to Nancy with his orders. A kind of debate arose upon the manner in which the Duchess of Mantua should be received, which was at length decided in the queen's favour, who alleged that this princess coming into France only to oblige the king, and to honour an extraordinary ceremony, too great respect could not be paid her. Accordingly, nothing was omitted; she had the precedence not only of all foreign princes, but also of the princes of the blood, at which the latter were so disgusted that they refused to assist at the ceremony where she was present, alleging that it was a very extraordinary thing for princes of the most august house in Europe to be preceded by a duke of late creation, descended from a citizen of Mantua, who, after killing Bonnacolsy his lord, procured the administration of Mantua to be confided to him, and afterwards usurped the sovereignty of it. But, notwithstanding all that could be urged, the king would not make the smallest concession on this point, considering only in the Duchess of Mantua the title of an ally to the royal family, and eldest sister of the queen.

* Eleanora de Medicis, eldest daughter of Francis de Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and wife of Vincent de Gonzague, Duke of Mantua.

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The Duke of Bouillon sought to take some advantage of this example, but he was not regarded; he had been appointed to carry the regalia in the ceremony, and would have taken the place of the dukes claiming this privilege, as Duke of Bouillon and Prince of Sedan, and appealing to the examples of some of the princes of Sedan, to whom he had succeeded. He was told, in answer to these pretensions, that the difference between them and him was, that they were really descended from sovereign princes, a quality which in effect gave them the first rank, while he was only descended from a private gentleman.

On the 20th of July, the Duchess of Mantua arrived at Villers-Coterets, where she found the king, who waited for her. From thence they were to go by Monceaux to Paris, where I was employed in causing scaffolds to be built in the church of Notre-Dame, in the palace, and in the square of the manufactures, and in making all the other preparations, when we were informed that a contagious disease had broken out in that vast city; for which reason the king, after consulting the duchess, resolved that the ceremony of the baptisms should be performed at Fontainebleau.* The tournaments, and all the shows and diversions which were to have been exhibited at Paris, were set aside by this new plan, which took in only the usual expenses for the baptism of the children of France, and the robes of his majesty and the royal family. The nuncio waited upon the king at Fontainebleau, as did also Queen Margaret. The chapels of the castle being too small for such a ceremony, and that of the monastery unfinished, I proposed that the floor of the latter should be spread, and the walls hung with tapestry, or that they should make use of the great saloon for that purpose.†

* "The plague, or rather the king's thriftiness," says L'Etoile, maliciously, "deprived the city of Paris of this honour:" an assertion without any foundation, and contradicted by all other historians.

† It was performed in the court called Cour du Donjon, which had been prepared for the occasion. The Cardinal de Joyeuse, the pope's legate, represented Paul V. as godfather, with the Duchess of Mantua as godmother to the dauphin. The eldest Madame of France was called Elizabeth, after the name of the archduchess her godmother, wife of the Archduke Albert, and granddaughter of Henry II., represented by Madame d'Angoulême, without a godfather; and the youngest Madame

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The king himself took the trouble to examine the palace of Fleury, and caused it to be prepared for the reception of the dauphin when the ceremony was ended: for the contagion in Paris, instead of ceasing, had spread itself into some of the neighbouring places; nor was Fontainebleau entirely free from it.* Henry wrote me word, the latter end of September, that of six persons who had been seized with the distemper, only one had recovered, but that there were no more taken ill. He withdrew the regiment of guards from Melun, where he had been told some families were infected with the distemper. It was about this time that their majesties, crossing the river of Neuilly in a ferry-boat,† were

of France had for godfather the Duke of Lorraine in person, and for godmother the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, whose proxy was Prince John de Medicis; she was called Christina. (See in the "Merc. Franç." anno 1606, and in P. Matthieu, vol. ii. b. iii., the description of the manner of performing this ceremony, and the magnificence and rejoicings which preceded and followed it; see also vol. 9361 and 9364 of the royal MSS.

* It is observed in the Journal of Henry IV. that no more persons than usual died in Paris this year, which are therein computed at eight in a day; whence the author concludes that people gave way to a groundless panic.

† "On Friday, the 9th of June," says the same journal, "as the king and queen were crossing the water in the ferry-boat at Neuilly, on their return from St. Germain-en-Laye, the Duke of Vendôme being with them, they were all three in great danger of being drowned, especially the queen, who was obliged to drink a great deal more than was agreeable to her; and had not one of her footmen, and a gentleman named La Châtaigneraie, who caught hold of her hair, desperately thrown themselves into the water to pull her out, she would inevitably have lost her life. This accident cured the king of a violent toothache; and, after having escaped the danger, he diverted himself with it, saying he had never met with so good a remedy for that disorder before, and that they had eaten too much salt meat at dinner, therefore they had a mind to make them drink after it." This accident happened, according to the "Merc. Franç.," because as they were going into the boat, which probably had no railwork round it, the two fore horses, drawing towards one side, fell overboard, and by their weight dragged the coach in which were the king, the queen, the Duke of Vendôme, the Princess of Conti, and the Duke of Montpensier, whom the rain had prevented from alighting with them. "The gentlemen who were on horseback," says that historian, "threw themselves into the water, without having time to take off either their clothes or swords, and hastened towards the place where they had seen the king, who, being saved from the danger, notwithstanding all the entreaty that could be made to the

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in danger of being drowned, which was the cause that a bridge was afterwards built there.

I stayed longer this time at Sully than usual. The king, who was informed that I continued indisposed at Brie-Comte-Robert, wrote to me on the 29th of August, and desired to know the state of my health. This prince made me captain-lieutenant of the company of gendarmes, which was formed in the queen's name, and, at my entreaty, granted a full pardon to La Saminière. These favours alone gave him a right to require and expect everything from me. He was much afflicted to find that the marriage of the son of Noailles with the daughter of Roquelaure, instead of uniting those two families, proved only a source of discord between them. Henry so often and so earnestly pressed me to attempt to reconcile them, that I used my utmost endeavours for that purpose. It is the part of a good prince to keep all who are about his person united; and of a wise one, to effect this union rather by the interposition of others than by his own.

I was likewise well rewarded for my labours in the finances; the contractors giving his majesty a hundred and fifty thousand livres, and the continuance of the lease of the salt for six years produced him likewise a gratuity of sixty thousand crowns. The king disposed of these two hundred and ten thousand livres in the following manner: eighty thousand livres were set apart for the purchase of Moret, and thirty-six thousand for some occasions of his majesty; the queen had twelve thousand, the Duke of Nemours thirty, Versenai eighteen, and myself thirty thousand. I likewise received, during the course of the year, twice this sum in different gratuities.

To execute the edicts, the court of aids sent every year a deputation of councillors into those districts where the excise was levied upon salt, in order to make a distribution and regulation therein; to lay fines upon those whom they

contrary, returned into the water, to assist in getting out the queen and the Duke of Vendôme. As soon as the queen had recovered a little breath, she gave a sigh, and asked where the king was. She testified her gratitude to La Châtaignerie, whom she had observed to be particularly instrumental in saving her, by a present of jewels, and a yearly pension." (Anno 1606, De Thou, b. cxxxvi.)

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found exercising the trade of selling salt without license. Nor was this the only reason for sending those commissioners; for the Lieutenant-general of Blois sent me word that two of the commissioners, who were appointed to levy the excise upon salt and the other taxes for the different officers of the district, were guilty of many crimes in the discharge of their employment. To which I answered, that he was in the wrong to make a complaint without specifying any particulars; but that, however, I had sent him a regulation with regard to those two points, in order that he might show it to the commissioners, which, if they disobeyed, I promised to give him ample satisfaction.

The import of the regulation was, that the excise upon salt should not for the future be augmented merely upon the districts, but that the particular parishes should be specified in proportion to the number of chimneys, at the same time easing the poorer parishes of an equal sum. With regard to the contraband traders in salt, it was my opinion that there was a distinction to be made between them; for as those who sold the contraband salt could not be punished too severely, so those who only purchased it from the unlicensed traders, merely because they got it cheaper than the other salt, deserved to be treated with more lenity, especially when they were not taken in the fact. As to the tax upon the officers of the finances, there are two kinds of it, one upon all the officers in general, into which the king had thought proper to consent that inquiries should be commenced against them: and the other upon the elects in particular, founded upon the re-establishment of their rights, taxations, and exemptions of several kinds. It was established by the regulation, that the first of these taxes should not be exacted for the future but by mutual consent; so that they who should declare before the officer that gave them notice of it, and afterwards before the judge or notary of the place, that they did not intend to take advantage of the king's abolition, should not be compelled to pay it; but in that case they were subject to a criminal prosecution if they were discovered to have failed in the execution of their trust. The second tax was the same; those elects who liked better to give up the privilege of their office, were discharged from it; but they were obliged to repay whatever they might have

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received under that title, contrary to the edicts and establishments of the king and the States.

The commissioners sent to Rouen gave it as their opinion that it was but reasonable to strike eleven thousand crowns off the account of the taxes of the province of Normandy, because the treasurers of France were to write to me upon this head, and had prepared to send deputies to the king, in order to obtain his approbation of this retrenchment. I answered them, that there was no need for their taking this step, for that I would undertake to persuade his majesty thereto, who was already sufficiently inclined of himself to give them much greater marks of his affection, if the state of his affairs, and the donations he was obliged to make to a number of insatiable courtiers, had permitted him. I further promised that I would join with them in order to ease the provinces of a much greater sum than this, from which the poor could obtain but a very small relief. I perceived the reasonableness of the promise I had made them, when I saw a sum of two hundred and forty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres joined to the *taille* of Provence, though it had nothing to do with it.

This sum consisted of the following articles: thirty-three thousand livres for the bridges and causeways of the whole province, which extended both to Rouen and Caen; thirty-seven thousand five hundred livres for the suppression of the edict on linen cloth in those two districts; twenty-two thousand five hundred livres for the maintenance of the bridge of Rouen, raised by an assessment on those two districts, although on this account several sums were levied upon Paris and other cities; fifteen thousand livres for the bridges of Mantes and St. Cloud; thirty thousand livres for the canal of communication between the Seine and the Loire; and eight thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres for the grand provost of the province. I repeat it again, that all these different collections were foreign to the *taille*. And it was not reasonable that persons who received no advantage from the public repairs should be obliged to furnish money for them. For some years past they had considerably augmented these sums, which, in appearance, were designed for that use; but which, in reality, remained in the purses of

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a few individuals, without one penny being returned to the king.

I obliged the receiver of Angoulême to be answerable for all the money which he alleged was no longer in his hands; because, had that even been true, he was not the less liable to pay it, since it could not have been legally demanded of him without letters patent from the king. Although it might happen that some things escaped me, yet Henry let nothing pass unnoticed; he had been informed that some powder had been embezzled, and he desired me to prosecute those who were guilty of that misdemeanor; it being absolutely necessary, for the security of the stores in the magazines, that such practices should be punished, as being a matter of great consequence with respect to all the magazines in general. He discovered that there was carrying on in my absence a commission for recovery of the sums omitted to be received, and of false seizures: he wrote immediately to the chancellor, that the affair should be suppressed, because, as I must certainly have been acquainted with it before I went away, I would have taken some measures respecting it if I had thought it ought to be brought in question.

Henry's expenses this year were as great as usual: I do not mean in presents of jewels suitable to so opulent a prince, for in these he did not show himself prodigal; a proof of which may be cited in the present he made to an Italian lady named Bretoline: he was desirous that this present should not be mean; but, at the same time, that the price might not exceed a thousand or twelve hundred crowns: and he wrote to me to look out for a ring for him, with the diamond cut in the form of a heart; or in any other, rather than to be cut table-fashion, because the expense would be less, and the show greater: but his personal expenses, and those at play especially, always made up a very considerable article. I often received messages, like that of the 11th of December: Henry having lost all his money at play, sent me word in a note, of which Lomenie's nephew was the bearer, that Morand must bring him that evening two thousand pistoles. I had then excessively large accounts to settle with Parfait, for the extraordinary expenses of his household. On the 4th of October he sent me an order to pay eighty-five thousand

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five hundred and four livres to Mademoiselle du Beuil, for which that order was to serve as a receipt. He had remitted to Zamet, as payment of the remainder of an account he was indebted to him for the year 1609, the tax of two sols six deniers upon three bushels of salt; but as this tax did not now subsist, I was obliged to pay Zamet, this year, thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-two livres, to which that old account amounted; and to pay him, besides, thirty-four thousand two hundred and twenty livres, which he had since lent to his majesty, or disbursed for him. He made La Varenne a present of a thousand crowns. Villeroy, by his orders, wrote to my son that I must pay a debt which this prince owed to Balbani, who was confined in Fort l'Evêque; and that I must endeavour to procure his release.

Among other expenses, which did Henry more honour, I reckon those for repairing the gates of St. Bernard, and the Temple, and the fountains before the sessions-house, and the Cross du Tiroir. His majesty had written to the *prévôt des marchands* that he desired this work might be finished before midsummer. The council, I know not for what reason, gave an arrêt afterwards, which rendered this order ineffectual, by applying the money designed for these fountains to paving the streets of Paris, contrary to their first intentions, when, in the contract with the paviors, it was ordered that the sum necessary for this purpose should be levied upon the inhabitants of the city, according to the number of feet the pavement before each door consisted of; his majesty, however, insisted upon knowing why these works were delayed, and upon what account the council had committed this error.

This prince had often desired me to give him general accounts, which should contain a detail of everything relating to my three principal offices, of superintendent of the finances, master-general of the ordnance, and superintendent of the buildings and fortifications. I took an opportunity, when he was at the Louvre, and when I thought he had but little business upon his hands, to carry him these papers: but although it was very early in the morning when I left the Arsenal, yet when I came to the Louvre I found that his majesty was already gone out; I therefore sent all my papers back to the Arsenal, except a very short abstract, which I

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intended to show him, and went to Madame de Guise, to wait his return, she having often entreated me to dine with her.

It was to make a party for the chase that Henry had risen so early that morning, and he was resolved to dine upon the partridges he should take in hawking: he used to say, that he never thought them so tender and good as when they were taken in this manner; and especially when he could snatch them himself from the hawks. Towards the middle of the day Henry returned, extremely well satisfied with his morning's diversion, and in a gaiety of humour, which his good state of health, and the happy situation of his affairs, contributed greatly to increase: he entered the great hall, holding his partridges in his hand, and cried aloud to Coquet (who waited there for his return, and was talking to Parfait at one end of the hall), "Coquet, Coquet, you must not complain of Roquelaure, Thermes, Frontenac, Arambure, and me, for want of a dinner, for we have brought something to treat you with; but go immediately and order them to be dressed; give them their share, but let eight be reserved for my wife and myself; Bonneval here shall carry them to her from me, and shall tell her, that I am going to drink her health: but take care and keep those birds that are least bit by the hawks for me; there are three very fat, which I took from them myself, and which they have scarcely touched."

As Henry was distributing his partridges, La Clielle came in, and with him Parfait, bringing in a large basin, gilt with gold, and covered with a napkin. "Sire," cried he twice, "embrace my knees, for I have brought you a great many, and very fine ones." "See how rejoiced Parfait is," said the king; "this will make him fatter by an inch upon the ribs; I find he has brought me some good melons; I am glad of it, for I am resolved to eat my fill of them to-day: they never hurt me when they are good, and when I eat them while I am very hungry, and before meat, as the physicians direct. I will give each of you a melon before you have your partridges, when I have first chosen out some for my wife and myself, and for another person to whom I have promised some." The king then going to his own apartment, gave a couple of melons to two boys who were at the door, whispering something in their ear at the same time: and as he came

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out of his long closet to go to his aviary, perceiving Fourcy, Beringhen, and La Font, the latter bringing something covered up in his hand, "La Font," said he to him, "are you bringing me a ragout for my dinner?" "Yes, Sire," replied Beringhen, "but these are raw meats, fit only to feast the eyes with." "That is not what I want," replied his majesty, "for I am excessively hungry, and would rather have my dinner than any other thing: but, La Font, what is it you have wrapped up so?" "Sire," said Fourcy, "he has got patterns of several sorts of stuffs, carpets, and tapestry, which your best manufacturers have undertaken to make." "Oh!" replied Henry, "they will afford us some amusement after dinner; I will show them to my wife, and to another person, whose opinion and mine do not always agree, especially when we are talking of what he calls baubles and trifles: I believe, Fourcy," added he, "you guess whom I mean; I should be glad to have him present with my wife when you show us these stuffs, it will bring something to my remembrance which I want to communicate to them when they are together, that I may have their opinions: he often tells me," pursued his majesty, still speaking of me, but without naming me, "that he never thinks anything fine or good that costs double its real value; and that I should be of the same opinion with regard to all goods extremely dear: I know what he hints at, and why he talks in this manner, although I pretend to be ignorant; but we must suffer him to talk, for he is not a man of few words. Fourcy, go for him immediately; or, that he may be here the sooner, send one of my coaches for him, or your own."

The coachman meeting one of my footmen, whom I had sent to the Louvre to inquire if his majesty were returned, he came to the Duchess of Guise's, where I had just dined; I surprised his majesty when I came in, for he did not expect to see me so soon. "You have made great haste," said this prince to me, when I entered the room, where he was still at table; "you could not possibly have come directly from the Arsenal." When I told him where I had dined, "That whole family being related to you," said he, "and loving you so much as they do, for which I am very glad, I am persuaded that while they follow your counsels, as they say they are determined to do, they will never do any injury either to my

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person or state." "Sire," returned I, "your majesty says this in a manner so unreserved, that I see you are in a good humour, and better satisfied with me than you have been these fifteen days." "What! you still remember that, then," interrupted Henry; "I assure you I do not; you know that our little resentments ought never to last more than a day: I am very sure that yours would not hinder you from undertaking the very next day to do something for my advantage in my finances. I have not," continued he, with great gaiety, "found myself so light and so easy these three months as this day. I mounted my horse without help; I have had great pleasure in the chase this morning; my hawks have flown and my greyhounds have run so well, that the former have taken a great number of young partridges, and the latter three large hares; one of the best of my hawks, which I thought lost, has been found and brought back to me; I have a very good appetite, have ate some excellent melons, and they have served me up some quails, the fattest and tenderest I have ever eaten. By letters from Provence," continued the king, to show me that everything conspired to his happiness, "I am informed, that the seditions in Marseilles are entirely quelled; and from several other provinces I have news that there never has been so fruitful a season, and that my people will grow rich, if I permit them to export corn. Saint-Antoine writes me word that the Prince of Wales is always talking of me, and of the friendship which he promised you he would ever preserve for me. From Italy, I am informed that affairs there are in such a situation, that I shall have the honour of reconciling the pope and the Venetians. Bongars writes me word from Germany, that the new King of Sweden is upon better terms with his subjects, and that the Landgrave of Hesse acquires every day new friends and allies. Buzenval has written to Villeroy, that both the Spaniards and Flemings are brought so low, that they will soon be obliged to listen to proposals for a peace, or a truce, of which I must necessarily be the mediator and guarantee: and thus begin to render myself the arbitrator of all the differences among the princes of Christendom. And for an increase of satisfaction," said this prince, gaily, "behold me here at table, surrounded with all these persons you see" (for he had with him Du Laurens, Du Perron the

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younger, Gutron, Des Yvetaux, Chaumont, and the Fathers Cotton and Gonthier), "of whose affection for me I am well assured, and who, as you know, are capable of entertaining me with useful as well as agreeable conversation; which shall not, however, hinder me from talking of business as soon as I have dined, for then I will listen to everybody, and will satisfy all, if reason and justice can do it."

I found, by some other things his majesty said, that the company had turned the conversation upon him in particular, and had alike praised him for his great qualities, and congratulated him upon his good fortune. It would be difficult, I said, to find better judges than they were. "However," said Henry, "I did not suffer all they said to pass without contradiction." And he confessed that all their praises of him could not destroy his consciousness that he had many faults; and as to their compliments upon his good fortune, he told them, that if they had been with him from the time his father died, they would have been sensible that part of those compliments might have been spared, for that his miserable moments had far surpassed his happy ones. This led Henry to a reflection he used often to make, that he had not yet suffered so much by his declared enemies as by the ingratitude and desertion of many, who, he said, were either his friends, allies, or subjects. The young Du Perron, who in these last words found ample matter for his eloquence to display itself, began to treat this subject like a theologian or preacher, and even a mystic. "You have delivered your sentiments," said I, when he concluded, "in so lofty a style, that nothing can be added to your discourse." I then maintained to him, as well as to all the company, agreeably to what his majesty had just said, or rather to what I had myself been a witness of, that this prince had enjoyed less tranquillity during the peace than he did in all the troubles and alarms of war. "Rosny," said the king to me, "if you will put a few words upon this subject on paper, I will show it to some incredulous persons." I replied, that it required some time to do that, and likewise might not be received favourably by every one. To this I added some other plain truths upon religion and policy, and the misery with which France was threatened if she should lose her king; which I

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believe was still less pleasing to the courtiers than what I had said before.

This conversation, which, from being gay and lively, had taken a very serious turn, was interrupted by the queen, who had left her chamber, and was going to her closet. The king rising from table went to meet her, saying, "Well, my dear, were not the melons, partridges, and quails I sent you very good? If your appetite has been as keen as mine, you have dined extremely well. I never ate so much as I have done to-day, nor was ever in a better humour; ask Rosny, he will tell you the occasion of it, and will acquaint you with the news I have received, and the conversation we have had." The queen, who was likewise more than usually cheerful, replied, that to contribute on her side to divert his majesty, she had been making preparations for a ballet and an interlude of her own invention: the ballet was to represent the felicity of the golden age, and the interlude the amusements of the four seasons of the year. "I do not say," added she, "that I have not had a little assistance; for Duret and La Clavelle have been with me the whole morning while you were at the chase." "How charmed am I to see you in this humour, my dear!" said Henry to her. "I beseech you, let us always live together in this manner." Fourcy was then ordered to show the patterns for the stuffs and tapestry. The king desired the queen to tell him her opinion of them; and turning to me, "I know what yours is already," said he; "but now let us see your abstracts of accounts."

Of these there were three, the same number with the general accounts; this is a simple sketch of this undertaking: in the first, which regarded the superintendency of the buildings and fortifications, the king found what was contained in the general account: 1st. A memorial of all the fortifications made on the frontiers since the direction had been in my hands; 2nd. Of all the buildings and royal houses; 3rd. Of all the furniture, hangings, gold and silver plate, which I had collected for him. The second compendium, which related to the finances, was an index to the memoirs: 1st. Of the changes and improvements which I had made in all the different parts of the king's finances and revenues; 2nd. Of all the gold and silver money actually in the treasury;

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3rd. Of the improvements which I had still to make, and of the sums which I hoped to add to the former. The third compendium, which related to the office of the master-general, showed the particulars of the general account: 1st. Of pieces of six different calibres deposited in my arsenal, and of all that related to the cannon; 2nd. Of the number of bullets, with the means of keeping all the train of artillery, and employing them, in good order; 3rd. Of the quantity of three sorts of gunpowder commonly used; 4th. Of the quantity of arms, tools, and instruments of the train of artillery; 5th. Of the number of soldiers, as well gentlemen as volunteers, whom the king could set on foot, reckoned according to the division of the kingdom.

That the reader may better understand what has been said a little higher, with respect to Spain and the United Provinces, it is necessary to notice what passed this year in Flanders.* The Spaniards, to whom the army destined for the expedition of Sedan had given great umbrage, finding that they had nothing to apprehend from that quarter, the Marquis Spinola set out from Genoa on the 6th of May, that he might arrive in Flanders on the 19th. The siege of Rhimberg, which the Spaniards undertook this year, was the only considerable action performed during this campaign; at first the besieged defended themselves with their usual vigour, and made several sallies, by which two Spanish colonels lost their lives; the name of one of them was Thores, and the other commanded the new *terse*,† which came from Savoy. This bold defence made the event of the siege appear very doubtful; at best it was thought that it would be protracted a long time; Spinola was of this opinion, and the king supposed that Rhimberg would not surrender before the 20th of October; however, they capitulated the beginning of this month. If the courier was to be credited, who, the next day after the reduction of this city, was sent by Spinola to carry the news to Madrid, and who passed through Paris on his way, the besieged had not more than

* Consult De Thou, the "Merc. Franç.," anno 1606, and Siri, ibid., on this subject.

† The word *terse*, which is made use of in two or three places of Sully's Memoirs, signifies a battalion, or several companies of foot forming one corps.

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six tons of powder left; but it must be confessed that the Dutch did not upon this occasion exert the valour they had done in the preceding years; they were then, indeed, dispirited and weary of the war. The garrison, which was left by the senate to its own conduct, were satisfied with obtaining that they should be permitted to march out with all marks of honour, such as carrying away their cannon, &c. They threw all the blame of their surrender upon the Prince of Orange, who, they said, would neither succour the place nor give any disturbance to the Spanish army. This reproach was not wholly without cause; Prince Maurice's reputation suffered greatly from his inaction during this siege, and the whole campaign. This ought not, however, to excite surprise, when we consider that the United Provinces were reduced to such extremities, that it was not possible for them to carry on the war much longer. All the letters from Buzenval and Berny* confirmed this truth; and public report did not exaggerate things in this respect. It was no less certain that Spain was no longer in a condition to take advantage of their weakness. The sieges of Ostend and Sluys had opened two wounds on both sides which they had never been able to close. In Flanders a peace was publicly talked of; and those who till then had shown themselves most against it were, to their own astonishment, insensibly brought to approve of it. They now left off soliciting with ardour the assistance of France, or in placing that reliance upon our promises which they formerly had. I am persuaded that the still recent remembrance of all the obligations they lay under to his majesty was one of the chief causes of delaying a peace or a truce, which, but for that consideration, would have been concluded this year. A misunderstanding between the Prince of Orange and Barnevelt, which divided the council of the States into two parties, contributed also to this delay; the former would not hear of a peace, and the latter cried out against a war. This opposition was the cause likewise that the council of France could take no resolutions with respect to the affairs of Flanders, since it was not possible to serve one party without injuring the other.

Buzenval returned to Paris the beginning of December,

* Brulard, lord of Berny.

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charged with a great number of proposals. His majesty not knowing well what to resolve upon, sent him to the Arsenal, where I was confined to my chamber, to confer with me upon them. I confess I was no less perplexed than the king. I saw plainly that, if there was any resolution to be taken with respect to the peace between Spain and the United Provinces, this was the time for it: but in what manner should we act, or how second the designs of a people without strength, without union amongst themselves, and so destitute of advice, that, as it was plain, not being able to agree upon the choice of the deputies to be sent to his majesty, our own agent to them was obliged to take this commission upon himself: shall we prevail upon these provinces to submit to the French domination, and so make their quarrel our own? But is not this to engage rashly in a war with the whole house of Austria, the event of which would be so much the more doubtful, as the countries necessary to be possessed were at the greater distance from our own; as we had yet no preparations made for entering the territories of our enemies, nor vessels to invade them by sea, except those belonging to the States: shall we be contented with receiving a certain number of towns, either as a security, or in perpetual possession, to indemnify us for what money and stores we had advanced, as Buzenval offered in their name? This proposal has all the inconveniences of the first, without any of its advantages; we should, besides, have numerous garrisons to maintain, because these towns would be doubtless upon the frontiers, where the Flemings would behold us with almost as bad an eye as the Spaniards themselves, of which we have a very recent example, in their behaviour to the English in the like circumstance. In whatever manner we disguise any resolution which necessarily leads to a war with Spain, it will as infallibly bring England upon us, as soon as we seem desirous of getting a footing, and making an establishment in the Low Countries; but that we might have nothing to fear either from the one or the other, it was necessary that our first attempt should be to make ourselves, by one stroke, masters of the sea against the Spaniards, and in a case of absolute necessity, against the English likewise. I believe I could then have engaged my head, that having nothing more to attack

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or defend but on the side of the Meuse, Spain would have entirely lost the Low Countries. But what great expenses, and what prodigious efforts must necessarily be made, ere this could be accomplished! I am still persuaded that we might, without giving umbrage to our neighbours, and without suffering any greater inconvenience from Spain than complaints and murmurs, have still continued secretly to favour the States, as we did at present: but besides that the sums we advanced for them must be increased in proportion as their power and strength diminished, all the advantage we could hope for from it would be merely to retard the peace for some years. In the present state of things, there was no other alternative but an accommodation between Spain and the United Provinces, or a war between us and Spain: with respect to this accommodation, there were still two parts for us to take, either to suffer it to be made without our interposition, or to appear to be the mediators of it; the second was the most reasonable, and this was in the end embraced: but at the time of which I am speaking, the king was very far from approving this stroke of policy; and, in one sense, it was that which presented the greatest difficulties.

These were almost all the reflections I made to the king, who desired to know my opinion of Buzenval's deputation. I put them in writing, because I was not able to wait upon his majesty: it was not my fault, if this paper was not entirely satisfactory. We left it to time to bring matters to a conclusion, but they continued in the same doubtful state till the following year. The United Provinces made some small presents by Aërsens to the king and queen, for which his majesty sent them his thanks, and made a present, by the queen, to Aërsens' wife of four hundred crowns in jewels. Aërsens, by his master's orders, presented the king with a relation of a voyage which the Dutch had lately made to the East Indies.

I have nothing to say respecting Germany than that the Duke of Würtemberg found the good effects of the king's protection: Montglat was his majesty's agent in that country; for as to Bongars, who was there also, and who had written a letter from Metz to me, which Henry read, because

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it was open, this prince would not permit him to stay in that city, nor in any other place, he said, where he might preach his doctrine.

All England was thrown into consternation by the discovery of a plot, carried on by the Jesuits Garnet and Oldecorne, with several other Englishmen, against the king's person; the conspirators having resolved to blow up his majesty and the chief lords of the kingdom, when they were all assembled in the parliament-house, under which they had lodged barrels, and prepared trains of gunpowder.*

* See Birch's Negotiations (p. 235 et seq.) for many particulars respecting the Gunpowder plot.

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BOOK XXIV.

[1607.]

Occupations and letters of Henry IV.—Death of the Chancellor Bellièvre—Birth of the second son of France—Henry's friendship for Sully, and his great confidence in him—A quarrel between them, in which Henry first seeks a reconciliation—Sully does the king great service in the assembly of the Protestants at Rochelle, in the dispute between Father Séguiran and the Rochellers—New grants made by Henry to the Jesuits—Plots carried on by Spain, in the court and the council, against Henry and Sully—A conversation between them on this subject, and Sully's advice to the king—He does the king other services in the quarrels which happen at court—A further account of the war between Spain and the United Provinces—Sully's sentiments concerning the offers made by the Flemings to the king—A council is held on that occasion—The Flemings gain a naval victory over the Spaniards—Conferences for a suspension of arms and for a truce—A further account of the disputes of Spain, the Grisons, and the Valtoline—Affairs of Germany, England, and other foreign States—The quarrel between the pope and the Venetians terminated by the mediation of Henry—Brief of Paul V. to Sully—Sully's labours in the finances, the police, and other parts of government—Artifices of the courtiers to ruin him—He forms the scheme of a new council, which is not carried into execution—Other affairs of the finances, government, &c.—Henry's expenses in gaming, in manufactures, &c.—His private life and domestic uneasiness—He restores Sedan to the Duke of Bouillon.

ALL the affairs of the kingdom were this year so free from disturbance, that they afford us scarcely any remarkable event to relate; but, to compensate for this, they present us with a scene, which, notwithstanding its uniformity, is more striking than uncommon catastrophes, in which the writer or the reader is only entertained with repeated acts of inhumanity or corruption, such acts as can excite no other emotions than those of horror and disgust. This striking scene is the plenty and the quiet with which all France was overspread: never was there known so many pleasures and di-

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versions as appeared this winter in Paris and at court; and the same tokens of a happy reign were discovered likewise over all the kingdom. This happiness, which derived its source from the benevolent disposition of Henry, reflected in its turn upon him, and gave him back part of the benefits he bestowed. Disengaged from the hurry and tumult of war, till the time prescribed by himself to complete the glory of his reign should arrive, he had little else to do but to resign himself to the calm pleasures of a private life, amongst his faithful servants, and in his different palaces, which he visited successively one after the other: he was at St. Germain on the 1st of January, whither I could not go to pay my accustomed compliments to their majesties; the wound I had formerly received in my mouth opened by an imposthume, which confined me to my house. His majesty had the goodness to write to me, to let me know how greatly he was concerned for my indisposition, and sent two of his ministers, whom he chiefly employed, to confer with me upon the affairs of government, the plan of which he always formed in the beginning of the year. These two ministers were Villeroy and the keeper of the seals; for Sillery, whom I have already distinguished by this title, had been associated by his majesty with Bellièvre in the office of chancellor, till, by the death of that minister, which, it was foreseen, was not far off, he should fill the employment alone. Bellièvre, once remarkable for the strength of his understanding, had been for some time so greatly altered, that it was necessary to give him a successor while he was still alive: he bore this association with so much impatience, although Sillery behaved with the utmost politeness to him, that it afforded a new proof of his incapacity to act alone.* His weakness increased daily; and returning again

* "You see," said he to M. Bassompierre, "a man going to seek his grave in Paris. I have served as long as I was able; and now, when I am found no longer fit for service, I am sent to my repose, and to take care of the salvation of my soul, which the doing other people's business did not give me time to think of before: a chancellor without seals is like an apothecary without drugs." (Journal de Bassompierre.) When Henry IV. required the seals of M. de Bellièvre, in order to bestow them on Sillery, he took the opportunity his journey to the Limousin afforded him for it, the great age and weakness of Bellièvre not permitting him to follow the king in it: the chancellor said, "If his majesty would not make the seals ride post, he would take care

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to a state of infancy, he paid at length the last tribute to nature, after having paid almost all the others.

The king came to Paris on the 2nd of January, with a design to carry the queen to Vigny, but I dissuaded him from this journey, and he contented himself with making a tour to Fontainebleau, from whence he returned to Paris towards the end of February, in order to go to Châtillon, which was his ordinary residence during the month of March, it being very pleasant there in that season. In a letter he wrote to me from that place, dated March the 8th, he tells me that the weather there was very fine, that he was every day on horseback, and passed his time very agreeably. He fixed nowhere till, after returning to Paris on the 20th of March, he set out immediately for Fontainebleau, where he stayed the spring. He had fine weather during his journey from Paris to Fleury, whither he went to visit his children, who were at that palace; but from thence to Fontainebleau the rain accompanied him all the way. In the letter in which his majesty gave me a detail of this journey he likewise informed me that the dauphin had come a league to meet him; that he found him very handsome, as likewise his other children; that the queen, who was then with child, was very well in health; and that they expected to be very soon at Fontainebleau. "Send me the news of the city," said this prince, in another letter, dated the 1st of April. "My wife and I are in good health, as are likewise my son and the rest of my children, who are the prettiest creatures in the world, and give me infinite pleasure."*

to deliver them in time wherever his majesty should be." "You seem, sir," added he, "to be afraid there is not ground enough in Guienne to bury me: I am in good health, and have no desire to live longer than I can be of service to you; but I should think life a burden to me should you think fit to discharge me." (P. Matt. tome ii. liv. iii. p. 688.) This great chancellor, whose probity and steadiness were universally acknowledged, had served under five kings. He was the author of many useful regulations in the chancery. He died the 5th of September, in the following year, aged seventy-eight years. He was born at Lyons.

* Pèrefixe says, "He loved all his children, legitimate and natural, with equal affection, but with different consideration. He would not suffer them to call him monsieur, a title which seems to estrange children from their father, and to denote servitude and subjection, but ordered them to call him papa, a name of love and tenderness."

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The queen was delivered on the 16th of April, at eleven o'clock at night, of her second son, who was afterwards called the Duke of Orleans.* Montmartin brought me the news of it immediately in a letter from his majesty, and almost in the same moment I received a second from him, in which he commanded me to cause the cannon to be fired. The birth of this prince redoubled the joy of the royal family. The king, who had intended to return to Paris in the beginning of May, thought no longer of quitting Fontainebleau, from whence he only took a journey to visit Madame de Moret.

Hunting was, as usual, his favourite diversion: although this exercise is not in my taste, yet I shall not venture to pronounce that it is not a very agreeable amusement, since so great a number of persons find an invincible attraction in it. The account that Praslin sent me from Fontainebleau of the parties his majesty had engaged in was not very likely to alter my opinion of it. In one of his letters he gave me a relation of the manner in which his majesty had spent one day: all the morning he had passed in hawking, he hunted the wolf in the afternoon, and concluded the day with the chase of a stag, which had lasted till night, and in the midst of a shower of rain that continued three or four hours; they were then six leagues from any place where they could lodge, and were obliged to ride from thence wet through with rain, except the king only, who changed all his clothes before he came to Fontainebleau, where he arrived a little fatigued indeed, but in high spirits and perfectly satisfied, because he had that day taken all that he had attacked. This is what princes call diversion; but we must not dispute their tastes or pleasures. The preceding day's fatigue did not prevent Henry from employing himself all the next morning in visiting his workmen, and running from one workroom to another. "It is certain," added Praslin, "that at his return from the park he felt some slight touches of a fever; but this was nothing to him." Henry, when he wrote to me on the subject, showed himself a true sportsman, for he always slightly passed over his fatigues, and dwelt upon what he called his successes; for example, he wrote to me on the

* He had no baptismal name, dying in his fifth year, before he was baptised.

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20th of May, that he had hunted the day before with infinite pleasure, and had not been incommoded with the heat; that he had taken his stag very early, dined at Ponthierry at ten o'clock, and at half an hour after two returned to Fontainebleau, where he found the queen, who had come to meet him. Another time he says, in one of his letters, "I have just taken a stag, amidst great heat, and with great satisfaction." Predominant passions are always thought cheaply gratified, be the purchase ever so dear.

This prince, however, was not so much engrossed by his pleasures as to neglect any of his affairs; but as at that time they gave him but very little trouble, all he had to do was to write to me, or send for me to Fontainebleau, when he had any important affair to communicate to me: he sent for me and the president Jeannin on Easter Wednesday, and ordered his council to attend him there on the Monday after Easter. He never forgot to reward any additional trouble by new instances of his bounty. "I will not," he wrote to me, "wait for requests from those by whom I am served with diligence and fidelity; you assist me so well in my affairs that it is fit I should assist you likewise in yours; I therefore assign you twenty thousand crowns out of the money arising from the extraordinary branches of my revenue: cause the necessary despatches for it to be made out." In another letter he says, "I hear you are building at La Chapelle, and making a park there; as a friend to builders, and as your good master, I make you a present of six thousand crowns, to help you to do something handsome there."

There is another sort of letters which I received from Henry, that are far higher in my estimation, since the confidence of so great a prince ought by a faithful or affectionate minister to be preferred to presents; such are those in which he opened his heart to me, and confided to me his dearest interests. In one of these letters he thus expresses himself: "A thought has occurred to me this morning, which makes it necessary for me to see you, and consult you, as the most faithful and affectionate of all my servants." It was the same with everything that happened to disturb his quiet. My son happened to hurt himself in endeavouring to break a horse; his majesty sent a courier expressly to know the state of his health, writing to me, that as a father and a master he

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took all imaginable interest in it. My son was still more dangerously ill in November; and the king, not satisfied with sending Du Laurens, his first physician, to him, and recommending him in the most earnest manner to his care, wrote to me that I was so dear to him that if he imagined his presence was in the least necessary he would come himself, to give me this proof of his affection; and with great goodness allowed me not only to defer my journey to Fontainebleau for two days, but for all the time that I could be useful to my son.

In the unhappy affair that happened at Amiens, where Rambures murdered my nephew D'Epinoy, the king being informed of the excessive affliction into which this cruel accident had plunged the brother of the deceased,* sent a person to visit him in his name, and three several times afterwards sent him compliments of condolence. Some incendiaries had endeavoured to excite the whole family of Epinoy against the Count of Saint-Paul,† whom they accused of having had a hand in the assassination of my nephew. Saint-Paul, justly offended at these reports, came to his majesty, and, with all that generous confidence which innocence inspires, cleared himself of the imputed crime by proving that he was in Calais when it was committed. He spoke of the unhappy victim of this cruelty and artifice with praises, and with a grief so sincere that I myself regretted he was not at Amiens, where he said he might have prevented this accident. He protested that he would willingly have shed part of his own blood to have preserved the unfortunate D'Epinoy. He afterwards complained that his enemies, besides the other injurious reports they had propagated, gave out that his majesty had resolved to have him examined in a court of justice, and had promised to treat him with

* Of several sons sprung from the marriage of Peter de Melun, Prince of Epinoy, Marquis of Richebourg, and Hyppolita of Montmorency, of whom (as has been before mentioned) M. de Sully had taken the guardianship, only two then remained alive: William de Melun, Prince of Epinoy, Viscount of Gand, Constable of Flanders, Grand Bailiff of Hainault, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, &c.; it was he who had the great lawsuit with the Princess of Ligne, which will be mentioned hereafter: and Henry de Melun, Marquis of Richebourg, his younger brother, who was killed by Rambures.

† Francis d'Orleans, Count of Saint-Paul.

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great severity; that I had determined to behave to him with contempt, and that he would be prohibited from coming to Paris while I was there. Saint-Paul stayed three whole days in Paris, to remove the suspicions that had been conceived of him. I thought he behaved like a brave and gallant man upon this occasion, and I believe he was very well satisfied with the manner in which I treated him. Henry was as much interested in this affair as if it had concerned him personally; he cleared up the whole conduct of Saint-Paul to me, and in a letter he wrote to me at that time desired me not to give credit to any reports that should come from the Bastille, where my enemies had no other view but to join a second misfortune to the first. He exhorted me to take advantage of the confidence Saint-Paul seemed to have in me, to prevent the affair from having any bad consequence.

I was still confined to my house by this unfortunate accident, when the king came to me one day to confer with me about some affair of gallantry, which I have forgotten; all I remember is, that I expressed myself in very severe terms against Madame d'Angoulême* and another person, who were principally concerned in it; and that I was bold enough to represent to Henry, that amours which so little suited with his age and dignity were so many baneful wounds to his glory, and probably would end in something still more fatal. My freedom, often graciously received, produced nothing this time but an extreme rage in Henry, and drew upon myself the most lively reproaches from him. He left my chamber in such wrath, that he was heard to say aloud, and with great emotion, "It is impossible to bear with this man any longer; he is eternally contradicting me, and approves of nothing I propose: but, by Heaven! I will make him obey me; he shall not appear in my presence these fifteen days." My disgrace appeared to all that were present as a thing absolutely resolved on. My servants were all afflicted; but many others, I believe, inwardly rejoiced at it.

At seven o'clock the next morning the king came to the Arsenal with five or six persons, whom he brought with him in his coach. He would not allow my people to give me no-

* Charlotte de Montmorency, wife of Charles de Valois, Duke of Angoulême.

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tice of his arrival, but walked up to my apartment and tapped at my closet-door himself. Upon my asking, "Who is there?" he replied, "It is the king." I knew his voice, and was not a little surprised at this visit. "Well, what are you doing here"? said he, entering with Roquelaure, De Vic, Zamet, La Varenne, and Erard the engineer; for he had occasion to speak to me about the fortifications of Calais. I replied, that I was writing letters, and preparing work for my secretaries. And, indeed, my table was all overspread with letters and statements of affairs, which I was to lay before the council that day. "And how long have you been thus employed?" said his majesty. "Ever since three o'clock," I replied. "Well, Roquelaure," said he, turning to him, "for how much money would you lead this life?" "Faith, Sire, not for all your treasures," replied Roquelaure. Henry made no answer, but commanding every one to retire, he began to confer with me upon matters in which it was impossible for me to be of his opinion; and this he easily perceived when I told him coldly that I had no advice to give; that his majesty having, doubtless, taken his resolution after mature deliberation, all that remained to be done was to obey him, since he was displeased when my sentiments happened not to agree with his. "Oh, oh!" said Henry, smiling, and giving me a little tap on the cheek, "you are upon the reserve with me, and are angry at what happened yesterday: however, I am so no longer with you; come, come, embrace me, and live with me in the same familiarity as usual; for I love you not the less for it: on the contrary, from the moment that you cease to contend with me on occasions where I am convinced you cannot approve my conduct, I shall believe you no longer love me."

It is circumstances like these that serve to discover the bottom of Henry's character; and, indeed, to relate them is to show him in his fairest light. It is common enough to see the ministers and favourites of princes fall into disgrace; it is likewise common to see them deserve such usage by a criminal conduct. On these occasions, can it be said that the punishment is the consequence of a fault? This is seldom the case. That which ought to be done merely upon principles of justice, is often the effect of caprice, levity, and ill-humour; for reason seems to be equally incapable of making

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herself heard when she opposes the passions, or when she joins with them.

The king afterwards conversed with me upon affairs which it is not permitted me to relate here; then embracing me, he bid me farewell. As he went out of my closet, he told De Vic that he had provided for the fortifications of Calais; and raising his voice, "There are people," said he, "foolish enough to fancy that when I show any resentment against M. de Sully, I am really in earnest, and that it will hold a long time; but they are greatly deceived: for when I reflect that he never makes me any remonstrances or contradicts me but for my honour, my grandeur, and the advantage of my affairs, and with no view to his own interest, I love him the more for his freedom, and am impatient till I tell him so." A prince who understands his own interests, should thus from time to time give striking marks of his esteem for the minister he has made choice of; provided that choice be really good, it will likewise secure to him that of the public, which is a very essential point.

I now return to those affairs on which Villeroy and Sillery were, by the king's order, to confer with me. One of the most important related to the Protestants: the king having in the preceding year granted them permission to hold a convocation in this, they were summoned to meet at Rochelle, and the deputies of which it was to be composed were appointed in the provincial assemblies. It was from some of these very deputies his majesty received notice that the article of the convocation at Gap concerning the pope, of which so much has been already said, was expressed in their papers. However ill-affected a part of those who bore the greatest sway in this assembly might be, they judged it necessary to send three deputies to his majesty, as well upon this affair as some others, which they knew would not be agreeable to him. The matter was this: they had determined to bring again under examination the question which had been already discussed with so much warmth at the assembly of Châtellerault, concerning the nomination and number of the Protestant deputies-general and the duration of their office, as the time for which the present two were to be employed was nearly expired.

The king, by sending the private deputies to me from

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Fontainebleau, where he then was, followed his usual custom on such occasions, which was to make me acquaint the assembly with his intentions, as from myself; and from a principle of affection for my brethren, resolving, if he could not succeed by these means, to make use of his authority. On the 27th of April, my brother was sent by his majesty to confer with me; but as I was still in expectation of seeing the king himself at Paris, I kept the deputies two or three days without giving them an answer, which I should have been glad to have concerted first with his majesty. On the 5th of May I had a letter from him, in which he told me that he had altered his design of coming to Paris, and seemed impatient to know what I had done with the deputies. "I know already," said he, "all they could say to you in answer to those representations, which, in the letter I sent you by your brother, I directed you to make them. M. de la Noue, to whom I spoke yesterday in the presence of M. de Villeroy, repeated to me the greatest part of what passed. He tells me he never saw so many fools in one set of men, and named Rivet among others. It cannot be doubted but that the deputies, before they saw you, consulted first with M. du Plessis, who instructed them what to say."

I wrote such a letter to the assembly as his majesty required of me. I exhorted them not to arrogate to themselves any power with regard to the article concerning the general deputies, which belonged to the police or the government; I represented to them that the offices of the general deputies ought to last three years, less time not being sufficient to give them a thorough knowledge of affairs; and that they ought not to content themselves with naming two deputies only, because as the choice was not confirmed by the general assemblies till private ones had been first consulted (a formality that took up a great deal of time), if any accident happened to one of these deputies, the party would want an agent with the king; therefore, if, instead of two, they always proposed six to his majesty, the vacancy would be supplied immediately by his naming one of the six pointed out to him in the list. With regard to the pope, I remonstrated with them, that by again urging a question which had been already pronounced useless, and disrespectful to the pope, who by his

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gentle and pacific character merited a quite different treatment, they ran the danger of losing, through their own faults and for a trifle of no consideration, that calm and happy condition which had so long been the end of their wishes. I referred them to the sentiments they had formerly acknowledged, and concluded my letter by representing to them, in the most forcible manner I could, that disobedience of any kind to their master was dangerous; but that an unjust and unreasonable disobedience would infallibly end in their destruction.

I likewise got some other persons, whose influence with the party I was sensible was greater than mine, to write to them in the same terms, and entreat them to hear and consider with attention the arguments Montmartin had to add to theirs. I fixed upon him to be the bearer of this letter; and his majesty, on this occasion, thought him qualified to be the interpreter of his will to the assembly. I likewise made use of another motive to influence their resolutions, which his majesty expected would have some weight; and this was, that as the Rochellers had lately solicited the grant of two thousand livres for their college, I gave them to understand that his majesty would judge by the respect and deference which they induced their brethren to pay to his orders, whether they merited this favour from him. Some days afterwards I received a letter from the king, in which he informed me that Montmartin and the deputies sent by him had been indeed tolerably well received by the assembly, but that they had not shown all the respect they ought to have done, either to the speeches of the first or to my letters, and those that were added to them, the authors of which had been styled in derision "the four prophets of the Church." The accounts Montmartin sent from time to time of the disposition of the assembly were not more to Henry's satisfaction. "If this holds," says he, in a letter to me, "they will be kings, and we the assemblies." However, that party which was for the king carried it at last. The zeal Montmartin exerted in this assembly was rewarded by the king with a pension, although it could not be said that his success was complete with regard to the obstacles he had surmounted; yet he thought he had done all that was possible to be done, since he was able

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to declare to his majesty that his will had been obeyed. "Montmartin," says Henry, in a letter to me, "has taken great pains in this affair, though to little purpose, which he will not believe: he has brought the shadow, but the substance remains; the article of Gap having gained no more than two voices."

The Church of Pons gave an instance of great boldness when, by ridiculously applying to herself the manner of governing in religious affairs by deputies-general, she took the liberty to name three persons to the king, Verac, Longchamp, and Bertanville, to be invested in quality of particular deputies with the government of that city. Henry answered only by his edicts: but he was not less offended with this insolence than at the informations he received of the private conferences held together by Lesdiguières and Murat; as likewise of the disrespect shown by the minister Chamier to the constable, in passing through Montelimar. I afterwards made this minister clear himself to Henry of the faults that had been charged upon him.

Towards the close of this year, the Rochellers gave the king another cause of disgust with them, by writing in a body, without his majesty's knowledge or mine, to the King of England, to solicit the release of a Scotch minister, named Melvil,* who had been imprisoned in the Tower of London for having published some injurious writings against the king and his council. The Rochellers had nothing to say in their

* This was Andrew Melvil, a most violent and bigoted disciple of the Church of Geneva. In 1575 he came from thence into Scotland, where, through his fiery zeal, and attempts to introduce the discipline of his Church, he was continually occasioning broils among the clergy. The reader will find a full account of all his proceedings in Spottiswood's History. He was one of the ministers ordered from Scotland to attend the conference at Hampton Court in 1606, and in the same year he wrote and circulated certain satirical verses against the rites observed in the service of the king's chapel, which being carried to his majesty by one of the chaplains, he was cited before the council, who charged him with being an enemy to both the Church and State: here he behaved with so much insolence and disrespect that they sent him to the Tower, where he remained three years, and was at last released, Spottiswood says, through the intercession of the Duke of Bouillon, and permitted to retire to Sedan, where he lived in no great respect till his death. This proves that much of what is said in the text above is incorrect.—ED.

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own defence against a fact which the minister Primrose himself, who had carried their despatches to England, confessed to his majesty, and was, in consideration of this confession, permitted by the king to exercise the ministerial functions at Bordeaux: but what rendered the Rochellers still more criminal was, that they attempted to give this prisoner a retreat in their city, and to allow him to preach in their churches, which carried in it such an affectation of independence as was wholly inexcusable. The King of England did not require much entreaty to grant to a city he had an affection for so small a favour as the enlargement of a stranger* he was glad to have out of his kingdom; nor am I certain that the council of London did not find a secret satisfaction in making the King of France such a present: but Henry, besides the consideration of his authority, which was wounded by such a procedure, had the same reason for not receiving him into his dominions as King James had for driving him out of his. He sent Bouillon to confer with me upon this affair, which was also the subject of many letters I received from him, or from Villeroy by his orders. I was likewise commissioned by the king to demand from the Rochellers an explanation of this conduct, to reproach them with their temerity, and to prevail upon them to implore a pardon for it of his majesty, who appeared perfectly satisfied with every step I took in the affair.

Among many real faults charged upon that city, it was found that there were some groundless and unproved imputations. The Jesuits being desirous of sending one of their society to preach in Rochelle, La Varenne, Father Cotton, and some others, chose Father Seguiran† for that purpose; and, that they might not hazard a refusal from his majesty, they applied to Beaulieu and Fresne, the two secretaries of state, who, by their own authority, and without mentioning

* The reader has seen from the above note, that Melvil was certainly no "stranger" to James; this, however, is not Sully's term, but that of the compiler of these Memoirs; for the whole of this affair being contained in three letters from Villeroy to Sully, the compiler, in order to bring it into a connected narrative, has been obliged (as in numerous other similar cases) to introduce sentences and opinions of his own, for which he had not the slightest authority.—Ed.

† Gaspar Seguiran, afterwards confessor to Louis XIII.

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it to his majesty, delivered to this father letters by which he was entitled to preach in Rochelle. The Jesuit accordingly presented himself at the city gates, and being asked who he was, replied boldly, "I am Seguiran, of the Company of Jesus, who, by virtue of the king's letters, am come to preach in this city." "Go back again," said the sentinel, very disrespectfully; "we know very well that Jesus had no companions, and that you have no letters from the king." The Rochellers, without hearing more, obliged the father to go back. Seguiran, in a rage, threatened to complain to the king, and did not fail to keep his word. He was so well seconded by his partisans at court, who, concealing all or part of the truth from his majesty, exaggerated the disrespect that had been shown to his orders in such a manner, that Henry, in a letter which expressed great rage and impatience, desired I would immediately attend him at Fontainebleau.

I found the court in an uproar, and the king surrounded by persons who used their utmost endeavours to keep up his resentment. "So," said he, as soon as he saw me, "your people at Rochelle have acted in a strange manner: see the respect they show me, and the gratitude they express for the friendship I have discovered for them, and the favours they have received from me." He then related the fact to me, with an air that showed he was determined to chastise them for the fault; but afterwards taking me aside, "I have been obliged to appear angry," said he, "to silence those who are solicitous to find something to blame in my conduct. But the Rochellers have not been entirely in the wrong; for I neither gave orders for those letters, nor was informed of their intention to procure them: if I had, I should have taken care to prevent their being granted. However, you must think of some means to settle this matter, without discovering what the secretaries of state have done; for that will produce bad consequences for all their other despatches."

After settling with his majesty what was fittest to be done, I wrote to the citizens of Rochelle that it was absolutely necessary they should make some submission to the king, and assure him of their sorrow for having offended him. I hinted to them that, by a little obedience, this affair would end advantageously for them: I assured them that the letters

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had been granted without his majesty's knowledge, but that they should have no further trouble of that kind, and that the king would put an end to this without encroaching upon their privileges: and, lastly, that I would take all imaginable care to manage their interests with two or three of their best and wisest citizens, whom I desired them to send to me. The method I took was to procure Father Seguiran other letters signed by his majesty himself, by virtue of which he preached at Rochelle a few days, at the end of which he was recalled; a medium with which the Jesuits themselves did not appear dissatisfied. But it was extremely difficult to find one that would content the city of Poictiers. From the time that this city had been constrained to admit the Jesuits, I was fatigued with repeated complaints of these fathers from the bishop, the lieutenant-general, and the principal inhabitants, either separately or in a body. These complaints, which were not made by the Protestants only, but even by the Catholics themselves, turned chiefly upon the great number of artisans the Jesuits had gained at Poictiers, who on their arrival had given them possession of a college, and expended great sums of money upon houses and furniture for them, and had even endowed them with the richest benefices in that district: yet that these fathers, who had been settled amongst them upwards of two years, and during that time had the most part of the youth of the city committed to their care, had been of no advantage to them; a misfortune of which they were the more sensible, having had before, as they alleged, good colleges, and excellent masters. To these they added complaints of more consequence, accusing the Jesuits of sowing dissensions in the city, and in the whole province, and earnestly entreated that they might be recalled, and a royal college founded. It was not possible for me to do them much service with Henry, who had lately carried his complaisance for the order they complained of so far, as to grant, at their solicitation, that, after his decease, his heart should be deposited in their College of La Flèche, instead of the church of Notre-Dame, where it was the custom to deposit the hearts of our deceased kings. It was upon this occasion that a canon of that church, meeting a Jesuit about the time that this distinction was granted to his society, asked him which

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he would rather choose, to put the king's heart into La Flèche, or La Flèche into the king's heart.*

Notwithstanding the favours his majesty was every day showering upon the Jesuits, this society, doubtless, thought themselves still more obliged to the King of Spain, since he continued to support all their designs—designs which they carried on in the kingdom, and even in the midst of the court itself. The Spanish ambassador freely disclosed to the great number of friends that crown had amongst us, that his Catholic majesty was resolved to prevent, by every method in his power, a king so ambitious, so prudent, so able a general, whose reputation was so high, and who was so closely connected with the Protestants, from executing those great schemes which the money, the arms, and ammunition of all kinds he was amassing, gave but too much reason to believe he had projected; that it was necessary, therefore, to prevent his taking wing, since nothing could resist him in his flight, and find him sufficient employment within his own kingdom, by making use, for the same purposes as they had done during the League, of the enmity there was between the two religions established in France; that this was the business of all the Catholics in Europe, whose fears were so much the more reasonable, as Henry had shown, by the protection he had granted to the United Provinces, that he knew how to weaken the only power capable of making any great effort in their favour; and that it was, therefore, necessary to act in the same manner towards him, by endeavouring to consume his forces before they undertook openly to procure satisfaction.

In these discourses I was still less spared than any other person. It was said that I had prevailed upon his majesty to undertake greater things than any other king of France had attempted for these five hundred years, and that my chief aim was the destruction of the Catholic religion. This last charge is the only one I deny, and it is indeed absolutely false; but they thought themselves sufficiently authorised to load me with it, as it was the most likely to make some impression. I allege nothing against the ambassador without foundation. Some of the ecclesiastics to whom he

* *La flèche* is French for *an arrow.*

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had confided these secrets had still love enough for their country to be offended with such discourse: they thought they satisfied sufficiently their conscience and their honour by obliging Cardinal du Perron and his brother, to whom they repeated what had been said, to swear by their faith and the holy Evangelists that they would not name them. It cannot be imagined that the two Du Perrons would forge an imposture; all was too circumstantial. They only repeated the words of the ambassador, who had likewise said that the affair was already so far advanced that it was no longer to be called a mere project; for that many good ecclesiastics and friends of his Catholic majesty had laboured, and did still labour so effectually for its success, that a happy revolution was soon to be expected. Besides, it was not only in his court that these informations were given to the king; he received them from all foreign courts, where the Spanish ambassadors publicly declared that the balance began to lean too much on the side of France to make it possible for a peace to continue long between the two crowns. It was likewise added that the Spaniards supported these discourses by the most strenuous endeavours, and the practice of every kind of artifice, to deprive France of her friends and allies.

Henry, alarmed, as he had good reason to be, with these informations, which multiplied on every side, had from the latter end of last year talked of them to me; and he sent La Varenne for me one morning so very early that I found him in bed. As soon as he was dressed, he took my hand, saying, "My friend, I want to confer with you on some matters of importance. We will go into my library, that we may not be soon interrupted; for, although I have some touches of the gout, I shall continue to walk as usual, if possible." After relating to me the advices he had received, "Well, confess freely," said he, "that you are not grieved to find by what I have told you your opinion confirmed, that it is necessary great kings should resolve to be either hammers or anvils when they have powerful rivals, and never depend too securely upon a perfect tranquillity. I do not deny but that I have often contested this point with you; but, since it is now clear that you were in the right, let us, at least, endeavour to reduce these rivals to such a condition, that when I

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am dead they may not carry their designs into execution, which, probably, they will then find it easier to do than during my life, who am well acquainted with all their arts. I am not so stupid," continued Henry, "to take vengeance at my own expense upon your Huguenots for the tricks they sometimes play me: they deceive themselves greatly if they imagine I know not the difference between my strength and theirs, and that it is easy for me to destroy them whenever I please; but I shall not, for a trifling offence, or to satisfy others, weaken my state so much, by ruining them, as to become a prey to my enemies. I would rather give them two blows than receive one from them. Therefore," pursued he, rising in his temper as he spoke, "since the malice of these rascals is so great, we must endeavour to prevent it; and, by Heaven! I swear, for they have kindled my rage, if they pursue their plots against my person and my State,—for I was informed yesterday that there are designs laid against both,—if they once oblige me to take up arms, I will do it in such a manner that they shall curse the hour when they disturbed my quiet. Therefore, make all the necessary preparations, and provide arms, ammunition, artillery, and money in abundance; and consider of some motto for this approaching year 1607, that may express the resolutions we have just taken, that if they make war on us like foxes, we will make it on them like lions." I was charmed to hear the king talk in this manner, and obeyed his orders with joy. Upon the gold medals which I presented him with at the beginning of the year was represented the Temple of Janus; a lily seemed to keep the door shut, which was still further explained by this motto: *Clausi, cavete recludam.* Henry was pleased with the invention, and thought I had succeeded very well in expressing his resolution not to suffer himself to be prevented by his enemies.

It was with great difficulty that he could help regarding as such six or seven persons of his court, against whom, among many others, he was continually receiving informations. The whole house of Lorraine was comprehended in these informations, which was the cause that Henry, in a letter he wrote to me one day, made use of this expression: "All the crosses of Lorraine are false; and I am afraid the fleurs-de-lys are not free from the contagion." To these

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complaints his majesty often added reproaches on me, for appearing publicly to have stronger connexions with those princes than was consistent between persons whose principles were so different. Though I looked upon the injurious reports that were made of Messieurs de Lorraine to be absolutely false, yet I thought I owed so much complaisance to my prince as to mention them to one of the family, who might give him the most cause for uneasiness. I did so, and in return received assurances of obedience and attachment, so apparently sincere, that I thought myself under an obligation to undeceive his majesty in this respect. I entreated him to do me the justice to believe that I would, without hesitating a moment, break off any connexion which appeared to me in the smallest degree prejudicial to his authority; and since he permitted me to offer him my advice upon this head, I represented to him that even his own interest required that I should not abandon the person of whom he complained: for although it should be supposed that he concealed from me some part of his sentiments, yet, while I continued to preserve some influence over him, I was very certain he would never carry his discontent so far as to be guilty of any breach of his duty towards him; and that it appeared absolutely necessary to me, in order to prevent giving any apprehensions to persons who would be so much the more affected with an imputation of disloyalty, as they deserved it less, to be silent, and wait for a full discovery with patience.

With regard to those other persons who were comprehended in this accusation, the king told me nothing of which I had not been informed before him; but whenever I endeavoured to search into the bottom of these reports, I was always convinced there had been but little foundation for them. I was likewise so well acquainted with the motive that had induced these liars to propagate their slanders, that at length I took a resolution to give credit to none of them, and heard them without reply name several persons whom they found a malignant joy in abusing; not but it was certain that the Spanish party at court was very considerable. I have been the first to acknowledge this truth, and none knew better than myself those who professed themselves friends to it; but what probability was there that in this

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association, which they would endeavour to keep secret, they should introduce persons who were known to have a long and invincible aversion to it?

To this Henry answered, that it was still very dangerous that there never should be any conspiracy in the State which they did not entertain hopes of engaging the noblest and greatest part of the court to join; and again repeated his importunities that I would discover and prevent those supposed plots. Although I agreed with him in his maxim, yet I opposed it by another, which seemed no less incontestable, that he ought not to think of punishing those crimes, as yet barely formed in the imagination, and carried no further than wishes; but only to be strictly attentive to prevent their maturity, by separating, as if without design, those seeds that gave rise to them. And this ought always to be the business of the minister rather than the master. But at most, what could these people, represented in such dreadful colours, be able to perform? It was by this reflection that I endeavoured to calm the mind of the king: was not his single person more formidable than a thousand of theirs? and were not his servants, whom he knew to be faithful, a secure defence against his enemies? Henry had no enemies among them whom he could not, by a single word, make tremble; and during his life there was no reason to apprehend that the peace of the government would be disturbed by any revolution.

This is almost all that passed on the occasion between his majesty and myself, either by messages or letters, which he often sent me by the Duke of Rohan. He at length followed the advice I gave him, which was to trace this business through by-paths, and act with policy rather than force. I did not behold this employment in the same light with others that the king had charged me with in his court: I took several journeys thither on this account, and neglected nothing which I thought capable of dissipating these malignant vapours. I even offered his majesty to devote to it all the time he permitted me to spend at my houses in the country, and to pursue my inquiries without ceasing near him. I agreed with him that the letters I sent him on this subject should be written in a cipher which it was not possible for any other to understand, or counterfeit. I sent Descartes to

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Barrault to give him instructions concerning everything it was necessary he should do and say at Madrid, both upon this subject and several others; among which was the affair relating to a memorial that was presented by the Spanish secretary, on the 5th of April, to the king at Fontainebleau.

In this memorial, his majesty was requested to give orders for restoring to the Spaniards a certain capture made by Grammont, and of which he had refused to make restitution without a command from his majesty. To settle this affair, all that was necessary was a perfect knowledge of the law relating to shipwrecks, for the capture was of that nature. The Spanish minister maintained that this law had nothing to do with vessels and pieces of ordnance which belonged immediately to kings and sovereign princes, and of which they were actually making use. Neither the law which was quoted, nor the matter in dispute, seemed so clear to the council as Spain would have had it. Villeroy replied, that when the famous fleet sent by the deceased King of Spain against England was dispersed in the Channel, they had, indeed, procured the restoration of the wrecks that came to Calais; but that this restitution was looked upon as a matter of favour rather than of right. The king referred it to me to decide this question by the authority and examples of the archives of the monarchy.

The proceedings this year in Flanders, between Spain and the United Provinces, will appear to have consequences very different for us. From the beginning of the campaign some hopes were conceived that a peace would be still delayed for a considerable time longer. Du Terrail attempted to surprise the town of Sluys for the Spaniards; he opened himself a passage by petarding, and advanced so far at the head of the soldiers, which had been given him by the archduke for this enterprise, that he would doubtless have taken the place if he had been better supported; but his soldiers being seized by a sudden panic, fled: and thus abandoned, he was obliged to retire, without drawing any advantage from his assault. The Prince of Orange attacked Antwerp, and succeeded no better. So much pusillanimity served only to show that both parties had forgotten how to make war; and gave more weight to proposals for a peace, which were then publicly made.

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An aversion so deeply rooted as that of the Dutch for Spain inspired them with a desire to make a last attempt (by the same method they had used the preceding year) to prevail upon us to make their cause our own. And this was the offer of a certain number of their best towns in hostage.

I believe I have not related what passed in the council upon this occasion. It was there alleged that it was unreasonable to expect the king should every year expend two million for the service of the States, without drawing any advantage from it; that the example set by Queen Elizabeth afforded us a very useful lesson; and that the Dutch had reason to think themselves happy, if we assisted them upon the same conditions. There was nothing surprising in this opinion of the council, except its being supported, as it was observed, only by the zealous Catholics, those very Catholics who would have sacrificed everything for the success of their project to unite France and Spain. Probably it will not be easy to guess what end these councillors pursued by measures in appearance so contradictory to each other. But I shall explain it: they were far from believing the offers of the Dutch as sincere as they really were; and, in their opinion, there needed no more to create discord between the king and the States than to accept their proposition. It was therefore resolved to accept it, while I discovered my dislike of this measure no otherwise than by refusing my vote.

However, it fell out quite contrary to their expectations. The council of the United Provinces* received this overture gladly, and consented to give the king six towns in hostage, which he should choose himself, provided he furnished them with two million and a certain quantity of powder, and favoured, as formerly, their levies of soldiers in France. Buzenval, as has been already observed, having returned the preceding winter, signified this resolution to our councillors,

* There can be no doubt but the United Provinces at that time really designed, not only to put themselves under the protection of France, but even to submit to its sovereignty. See their deliberation on this affair in Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. vol. i. p. 418): but since it was necessity alone which compelled them to it, this disposition could not be very sincere; nor would they have continued in it long. I apprehend the best measures which could be followed, were those the Duke of Sully prevailed on the council to take.

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who, in the perplexity they were cast into by it, knew no longer either what to say or what determination to take; and I am of opinion that, instead of mortifying them, I did them a real service, by showing them, as I did in full council, with what precipitation they had formed their first resolves; I convinced them that the different supplies granted voluntarily each year by his majesty to the States did not amount to near so large a sum as that they now demanded of him: that the towns they offered were not, upon examination, a sufficient security for our money. In a word, I taxed, with still more satisfaction on their part than my own, all the arguments they had urged with ignorance and absurdity. This was an extraordinary council, composed of the king, the Count of Soissons, the Chancellor Bellièvre, Sillery, Châteauneuf, Villeroy, Châteauvieux, as captain of the guards, and myself. No one having anything to reply, it was no longer debated whether the proffered towns should be accepted; and we confined ourselves to the former terms of friends and allies of the United Provinces, either offensive or defensive; the pretext of which, as expressed in the treaty (for the States would have it one), was to make peace between them and the King of Spain.

The States, to whom this artful management gave a fair colour for throwing the blame upon us, would not admit the change; but absolutely declared, that, since they were refused the money they had occasion for, after having been promised it, they were reduced to the necessity of making peace with their enemy, and that we should see it concluded immediately. This was not what his majesty expected, who had promised himself that he should be able to keep things as they were a considerable time longer, by giving the Dutch the same supplies and assistance as usual; and had for that purpose advanced them the sum of six hundred thousand livres at the beginning of the year: but they took his money without altering their design of a cessation of arms. And it was apparently to prevent the reproaches they had reason to expect from us, that we were again importuned with the same proposals of towns given in hostage, and of submission to the French domination, which they knew we had no inclination to accept. They likewise endeavoured to get a more considerable sum of money from us. Aërsens, on his return to

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Paris in the beginning of April, having the assurance to demand a further sum of two hundred thousand livres, Henry had his revenge; but, although he refused Aërsens, he neglected no other means to prevail upon the States to suspend their resolution of an accommodation; notwithstanding, he said, that from that moment it was but too clear to him that the point was already fixed on amongst them.

Preaux and Russy had already been commissioned by the king to make some representation to the States upon this subject. His majesty, who looked upon it as a piece of necessary policy to have some person on his part to assist at the general assembly of the States, which had been summoned to meet on the 6th of May, and in which they were to appoint deputies to acquaint him with their motives for agreeing to a cessation of arms, thought proper to order me to send Buzenval thither again with the utmost speed, and associated Jeannin with him in the commission. Their instructions differed but little from those which had been given to La Boderie* on the subject of the suspension of arms. I delivered to Buzenval his appointments, as formerly, for six months, comprehending only the expenses which Franchemen, his secretary, might have been at in his master's absence.

Affairs were in this situation when we heard the news of a great naval victory gained, on the 25th† of April, by the fleet of the United Provinces over that of the Spaniards; and almost immediately after Buzenval sent us a relation of it, which was as follows: Alvares d'Avila,‡ the Spanish admiral, was ordered to cruise near the Straits of Gibraltar, to hinder the Dutch from entering the Mediterranean, and to deprive them of the trade of the Adriatic. The Dutch, to whom this was a most sensible mortification, gave the command of ten or twelve vessels to one of their ablest seamen, named Heemskerk,§ with the title of vice-admiral, and ordered him to go and reconnoitre this fleet, and attack it. D'Avila, though already nearly twice as strong as his enemy,

* Antony Le Fevre de la Boderie.

† Other historians say, Monday the 30th of April. There are also some other differences in the accounts of the action, but of little moment. (See De Thou, book cxxxviii.; "Le Merc. Franç.," anno 1607, and other historians.

‡ D. John Alvares d'Avila. § Jacob Heemskerk.

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yet provided a reinforcement of twenty-six great ships, some of which were of a thousand tons burden, and augmented the number of his troops to three thousand five hundred men. With this accession of strength he thought himself so secure of victory, that he brought a hundred and fifty gentlemen along with him only to be witnesses of it. However, instead of standing out to sea, as he ought to have done, with such certainty of success, he posted himself under the town and castle of Gibraltar, that he might not be obliged to fight but when he thought proper.

Heemskerk, who had taken none of these precautions, no sooner perceived that his enemy seemed to fear him than he advanced to attack him, and immediately began the most furious battle that ever was fought in the memory of man. It lasted eight whole hours. The Dutch vice-admiral, at the beginning, attacked the vessel in which the Spanish admiral was, grappled it, and was ready to board her. A cannon-ball, which wounded him in the thigh soon after the fight began, left him only an hour's life, during which, and till within a moment of his death, he continued to give orders, as if he felt no pain. When he found himself ready to expire, he delivered his sword to his lieutenant, obliging him, and all that were with him, to bind themselves by an oath either to conquer or die. The lieutenant caused the same oath to be taken by the people in all the other vessels, where nothing was heard but a general cry of "Victory or death!" At length the Dutch were victorious; they had lost only two vessels, and about two hundred and fifty men; the Spaniards lost sixteen ships: three were consumed by fire, and the others, among which was the admiral's ship, ran aground. D'Avila, with thirty-five captains, fifty of his volunteers, and two thousand eight hundred soldiers, lost their lives in the fight: a memorable action, which was not only the source of tears and affliction to many widows and private persons, but filled all Spain with horror.

This, indeed, was finishing the war by a glorious stroke; for the negotiations were not laid aside, but were probably pushed on with the greater vigour on account of it. At first, they would have had them considered as measures proposed only by the Marquis Spinola, or, at most, by the archduke, without any mention being made of the King of Spain;

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and some persons were weak enough to believe, that the whole affair was conducted without the participation of his Catholic majesty. But a very little reflection would have convinced them that it was not at all probable that either Spinola or the archduke would have ventured to negotiate with the mortal enemies of Spain, either for a peace or a truce of any length (for both were talked of), without, at least, the secret consent of the King of Spain, or of those who governed him. This prince had already resolved upon it, as afterwards appeared; and if any perplexity was observed, it proceeded either from the nature of the business itself, or from the dilatoriness of the council of Madrid; or, perhaps, from those to whom, for form's sake, he thought himself obliged to communicate his resolution, which was not without some danger for Spain, and consequently only taken up through an urgent necessity.

It was obstinately debated in France, whether or not this peace would be agreed to, till the very moment it was concluded. The king wrote me his opinion of the despatches he received from the Low Countries, and sent them regularly to Villeroy, Sillery, and myself, to be examined in a kind of council. The most important of these despatches was that which he received the latter end of May, importing, that in Flanders they waited for nothing to conclude the articles, but a promise from the King of Spain to ratify whatever should be determined by the archduke, or by Spinola and the Dutch agents; that the marquis's secretary, who had passed through Paris some days before, was gone to require this engagement, with the revocation of Don Diego d'Ibarra, which, it was said, he had actually procured. To the account which Henry gave me of those proceedings in a letter he wrote to me from Monceaux, the 24th of May, I answered, that he might look upon the ratification of Spain, and consequently the peace, or a long truce, as a thing absolutely certain; that, apparently, it would be under this last title, as most proper to conceal the shame of the Spaniards, that the agreement would be made. To which I added, agreeably to what I had said before, that Spain yielded to necessity, taking it for granted that she did not under this step conceal a snare, by which she hoped one day to regain all that she now sacrificed to the exigence of her affairs.

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Spinola's secretary had no commission for the scheme of ratification, as had been reported; for otherwise it would certainly have arrived in Flanders, and even in Paris, before the end of July, as Henry had expected; either new obstacles were raised, or Spain, for other reasons, thought proper to delay it for some time longer, since it appeared not to be dated till the 18th of September. I was among the first who knew it from the archduke's ambassador, who afterwards caused the report to be spread in Paris, with circumstances very favourable for the Spaniards, which Henry would not believe. The Spaniards, said he, if it had been true, would not have been so long without saying it. I wrote him at Fontainebleau an account of what the ambassador had said to me upon this subject; and my answer to him, the plainness of which highly pleased his majesty. The first despatch that was expected from Holland, and which came at length on the 14th of October, showed us exactly what we ought to think of this paper, which was wished for with so much impatience.

By this his Catholic majesty not only approved of the treaty for the suspension of arms, which had been made by the archduke, but likewise engaged his royal word to ratify all that should be concluded by this prince, or his agents, with the council of the United Provinces, either for a peace or a long truce, leaving the choice to them, as if it had been settled and concluded by himself. He promised to use his whole authority in enforcing the strict observance of it throughout all his dominions, under a great penalty; providing only, that if nothing should be concluded upon by the negotiators, the present treaty should be deemed null, and neither of the parties be capable of demanding any other right from it than that which they had before; and that everything should remain in the same state they were in at the time of the present ratification. It was written and signed in Spanish, *Yo el Rey*, and in a placard, with which the States were offended; but they were well enough satisfied with the form, except only that they still objected to these words, "without prejudicing the rights of the parties,"*

* The Memoirs are not quite correct in the relation of this business: the ratification was first received by the States in July; but

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which were expressed upon the supposition that nothing would be concluded. They raised still more difficulty about its being stipulated that the present regulation should take place, as well with regard to religion as to policy and government; believing that this clause was inserted to dispute with them the rights of real sovereigns of the ecclesiastic police; but the paper was, by the deputies from France and England,* whose advice they asked concerning it, judged fit to be received. Jeannin, who sought to make the name of his master as considerable as he could, told him that the king would never be brought to approve of their breaking off the treaty for a trifle, after having acceded to all, when, if the matter were well considered, it would be found that they engaged for nothing more than what they had themselves a desire to do. Therefore, it was his advice to them, that all the favours they granted to the Catholics in their republic, should appear rather to proceed from themselves, or through the interposition of his most Christian majesty, than by virtue of a contract made with the archduke and with Spain.

This was the ratification that made so much noise.† Henry, when he sent me a copy of it by young Lomenie, wrote to me in these words: "Time will unfold to us what advantages either party will draw from it. Prince Maurice already talks as if he would not receive it; and that it would likewise be rejected in Zealand." The truce, in which this negotiation ended at last, was neither completed nor published till the beginning of the year 1609, many different obstacles having kept it suspended during the whole course of the year 1608. But not to anticipate matters, let us content ourselves with saying, that in this it produced a total

being "in a placard," as it is termed (*i.e.* on paper), and containing some expressions which did not admit of the independence of the States, they would not receive it; it was therefore sent back to Spain, where some alterations were made, though not all that were required, and returned again in October as above. (See Bentivoglio, pt. iii. b. 8; Birch's Negotiat., p. 271.)—ED.

* The English deputies were Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Ralph Winwood, in whose "Memorials" a full account of all these proceedings may be found.—ED.

† See De Thou, "Le Merc. Franç.," and other historians (anno 1607); and also the 9981st volume of the king's MSS., which contains many curious pieces on the affairs of the United Netherlands.

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cessation of hostilities, during which they seriously negotiated a peace. The king still kept Jeannin and Preaux* in Holland. The King of England had also a deputy residing there; this prince's conduct towards those people sufficiently made known his character, such as I have already painted it. There was nothing to hinder him from humbling a power which was odious to him. France, although she could subsist without her neighbours better than any other crown, pointed out the way to him, and offered to show the example; but what can be expected from persons who neither know how to seize opportunities as they offer, to execute anything boldly, nor even to desire anything with steadiness?

Upon notice given by De Vic, that, in contempt of treaties, and notwithstanding repeated declarations from the archdukes, our neighbours continued building the Fort of Rebuy, which would be soon in a condition of defence; the king sent orders to that vice-admiral to send some troops thither, who surprised the workmen, and threw down all that they had built, without killing or wounding any person whatever. "Our neighbours," said Villeroy, in a letter to me, "have reason to be offended; but it is better that they should be petitioners and complain, than that we should."

The Grisons at length determined to show the Spaniards somewhat less respect, after having too long submitted to soothe and court them. The efforts which were made by the disaffected amongst them to banish the Protestants, and reduce the whole country to the Spanish yoke, ended in a real sedition, in which the senate discovered that the Count of Fuentes had made the Bishop of Coire and his adherents play the chief parts, by means of two pensioners of Spain, who bore all the punishment; they were seized and delivered up to the secular power, which performed a speedy and exemplary piece of justice upon them. The Leagues, at the same time, caused the articles of Milan to be cancelled, the sole tie that bound them to Spain, and solemnly confirmed

* M. de Buzenval died at Leyden the 23rd of September; a man of great reputation, as well in France as in other nations. "To do honour to his worth and merit," say the "Mémoires de l'Histoire de France," "the States-General defrayed the expenses of his funeral, which was performed with the same pomp and ceremony as the Prince of Orange's had been."

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their alliances with France and the Venetians: after this bold stroke, the Grisons became more than ever sensible how necessary the advice and assistance of his most Christian majesty were to them. The courier who came to make these two requests brought this good news in six days after he quitted the Valtoline.

Although the Count of Fuentes in public talked of nothing but revenging his master, and affected to make great preparations in Germany and Switzerland, yet France was not alarmed, being persuaded that, if, by these vain threats, he could put off any decision concerning the affair of the Valtoline, he would not insist very obstinately on that of the two pensionaries, and of the cancelled articles. The emperor* had sufficient employment upon his hands in his own dominions. Having attempted to deprive the Protestants of Transylvania of liberty of conscience, a Transylvanian, named Bostkay, had put himself at their head, and handled the Imperial troops so roughly, that the emperor, being apprehensive that the malcontents would be joined by the Turks, found himself obliged to leave those people in quiet, and to grant to Bostkay the lordship of the country.

With regard to the Swiss Cantons, Spain had reason to believe that the Leagues would not have acted in the manner they had done, without the concurrence of those cantons which were in alliance with the duchy of Milan.

The king gave the Grisons to understand that he would not abandon them. He made the same promise to the little republic of Geneva, which he thought might be of some use to him in his great designs; he sent her money to maintain her forces, and to make a plentiful provision of ammunition. His majesty did still more; for he sent letters to Geneva, filled with expressions of regard for that city, by Boësse, colonel of the regiment of Navarre, and governor of the city and castle of Bourg, and offered them this officer to assist them in the conduct of their enterprises; and did not scruple to communicate to them his design of making Geneva a magazine of cannon and all kinds of warlike stores; as well to serve their occasions, as those which his majesty might have for them in those cantons. On the 21st of April, the

* Rodolph.

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republic returned the king an answer full of acknowledgments for the testimonies he gave them of his goodness, and promises of sending him the most exact information of whatever their common enemies might practise against them. Notwithstanding these mutual good offices between the king and the republic of Geneva, Henry did not break with the Duke of Savoy; but, on the contrary, the Count of Garmare, envoy from this prince, having taken leave of the king at Fontainebleau the latter end of October, with an intention to repass the Alps, with the Marquis de Beuillaque, envoy from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, without taking their route through Paris (at least as the king thought), his majesty wrote to me, desiring that I would send him two crochets of precious stones, each valued at a thousand crowns, to present them with.

England was not without her troubles this year. His Britannic majesty, after putting to death the two Jesuits Garnet and Oldicorne, the chief actors in the plot laid against his person, which has been already mentioned in the preceding year, thought it necessary to have the oath of fidelity again administered to all his subjects, which was done with some circumstances derogatory to the honour and power of the pope, on whom this prince laid the blame of the plot. This so highly offended his holiness, that he sent a brief into England, by which all the Catholics there were prohibited from taking this oath.

The holy father was just then happily delivered from the perplexity into which his quarrel with the Venetians had thrown him. The king terminated this affair to the satisfaction of both parties, by the Cardinal Joyeuse, who in the month of April sent his equerry to his majesty with the news and the conditions. The republic* making the first

* According to other historians, the doge and senate would not give the pope any satisfaction, nor receive absolution, much less sue for it; and Paul V. was extremely mortified at the indifference with which they received at Venice what he would have had esteemed as a favour. Fresne-Canaye said, on his returning from his embassy, that the pope was treated with no more respect at Venice than at Geneva. It is certain, at least, that all his endeavours to restore the Jesuits were useless. "This affair," says M. de Pèrefixe, "retarded the accommodation for some months, and was near breaking it off entirely; for the pope, considering they had been driven out on his account, abso-

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advances, as became them, resigned, through the interposition of the French ambassador, the two ecclesiastics who were prisoners into the hands of a person appointed by the pope to receive them, without any protestation that could be displeasing to his holiness. They likewise revoked all they had done against the interdict, upon his majesty's assuring them that the pope would afterwards recal this interdict in the most gracious manner. All this was effected by Cardinal Joyeuse, without any further interposition of the Spanish ambassadors than what he thought fit to allow them, which greatly enhanced the glory his majesty acquired by this reconciliation.* Henry, being desirous of giving some gratuity to Cardinal Aldobrandini, left the manner of it to me: as I had some reason to believe that his eminence would be better pleased with money than rings and jewels, I decided for a pension rather than a present.

Cardinal Barberini, returning to Rome from his nunciature, thought himself so much obliged to me for the services I had rendered him, that he talked of them publicly in terms of the highest acknowledgment, which, in the month of November, procured me a most obliging brief from Paul V. His holiness, at least, made this a pretence for writing to me, and recommending the person who was to succeed Barberini to my favour, who was the *élu* of the church of Mont-Politian. I shall not relate here either the acknowledgments made me by his holiness, nor the praises, kind offers, and other civilities with which his letter was filled, since this would be only to repeat what I have already said, on occasion of the

lutely insisted that the senate should restore them their houses and effects: the senate, on the contrary, were obstinately resolved to risk everything rather than consent to it. At last, the pope, persuaded by the eloquence of the Cardinal du Perron, conceived it would be more advisable to make some concessions on this point, than to run the hazard of embroiling all Christendom; so that they remained banished from the Venetian territories. Pope Alexander VII., by his intercession, has re-established them there." (Pèrefixe, Journal de l'Etoile, Mémoires pour l'Histoire de France, Mercure François, Matthieu, &c., anno 1607.)

* "It was I," said Henry IV., "who made the peace of Italy." The "Mercure François" observes, that Francis de Castro and Don Inigo de Cardenas, ministers from Spain at Rome, in vain endeavoured to prevail on the pope to appoint Cardinal Zapula associate to Cardinal de Joyeuse (anno 1607).

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brief sent me formerly by Clement VIII., both which contained the most earnest entreaties, and most pathetic exhortations, to induce me to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. I answered Paul V. in the same manner as I had done his predecessor, in terms the most polite, respectful, and satisfactory I could imagine; except only that I observed a profound silence upon the article of my change of religion.

But let us now return from this detail of foreign affairs to those of the government, and begin with the finances, after having premised, in the first place, that the finances of Navarre* were this year reunited to those of France; so that we shall no longer treat of them separately. And, secondly, that the long stay his majesty made in his palaces without Paris, and at a distance from his council, was the cause that almost all business was transacted by letter. His majesty chose rather to take this trouble upon him, than to oblige his secretaries, and other people in office, to do business near his person. He likewise granted the same indulgence to those whose employments, though of another kind, required their attendance on him. His majesty's service was never less troublesome or expensive to the inferior officers of the crown.

The king, at a visit he made me in the Arsenal, speaking of the regulations to be made in the finances for the present year, desired I would give him a summary account of all the moneys I had paid since I had governed the finances, to the persons named in the following calculation, which I presented to him eight days afterwards in this form:—To the Swiss Cantons, and Leagues of the Grisons, seventeen million three hundred and fifty thousand livres; debt to England, in money given to the United Provinces, six million nine

* The author here undoubtedly means to speak of the edict, though it was not passed till 1609, whereby the demesnes, and all the estates which belonged to Henry IV. as King of Navarre, and which till that time had always been kept separate from the crown of France, because that prince had granted the income thereof to his sister Catherine, were united to it in an inalienable perpetuity, &c. These estates comprehend the Duchies of Vendôme and Albret; the earldom of Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, Gaure, Merle, Beaumont, La Ferre, the Viscounty of Limoge, and other rights and revenues. (See the above-mentioned historians.)

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hundred and fifty thousand livres; to several princes of Germany, four million eight hundred and ninety-seven thousand livres; to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and other Italian princes, eighteen thousand livres; to Gondy, Zamet, Cenamy, and other contractors, for debts due upon salt and the large farms, four million eight hundred thousand livres; for debts contracted during the League, thirteen million seven hundred and seventy thousand livres for debts due to the provinces of Dauphiny, Lyonnais, Languedoc, &c., paid out of the money arising from the *gabelle*, four million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand livres; debts to several persons, paid from the money arising from any branch of the royal revenue, four million eight hundred and thirty-six thousand six hundred livres; to others, comprehended in a different account, four million thirty-eight thousand three hundred livres; in presents made by his majesty, six million forty-two thousand three hundred livres; for purchasing arms, ammunition, and furniture of ordnance deposited in the magazines, twelve million; for churches and other buildings, six million one hundred and fifty thousand livres; repairs and fortifications of towns, five million seven hundred and eighty-five thousand livres; for pavements, bridges, causeways, &c., four million eight hundred and fifty-five thousand livres; jewels and furniture purchased by his majesty, one million eight hundred thousand livres. Total: eighty-seven million, nine hundred and two thousand two hundred livres.

Queen Margaret had inherited, from the queen her mother, very considerable estates,* of which she made a cession to the dauphin. The annual rent of these estates, at the time she resigned them, amounted to twenty-four thousand three hundred and seventy livres. In letting out leases, I increased them to thirty thousand three hundred and sixty livres. I also recovered a capital of one hundred and seventy thousand three hundred livres, which produced yearly the sum of thirteen thousand three hundred livres, that had been alienated, either by the deceased queen, or by Margaret herself. I could have wished to have reco-

* The particulars of these estates have been enumerated before, in speaking of the suit between Queen Margaret and the Duke of Angoulême.

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vered another part of those estates, worth ninety-four thousand livres, bringing in annually the sum of eight thousand three hundred and ninety-five livres; but it had been absolutely sold, or given away, by these two princesses.

I undertook to reunite to the crown lands all the registers and clerks' offices at the courts of Languedoc, which had been alienated. This design was no sooner known, than La Fosse, and several other contractors, came to make me offers. The part I took was, to allow those farmers to redeem them, on condition that, at the expiration of a certain number of years, during which it was agreed they should enjoy them, they should restore them quite cleared to his majesty;—a praiseworthy, and in some degree necessary economy, and authorised by all the laws of public and private justice. The contracts made with the purchasers imparted expressly a power of perpetual redemption for their own court; an observation I make here, because the parliament of Toulouse, in registering the letters-patent expedited for this treaty, thought proper to except their offices and those of the city. I wrote to the first president, Verdun, that the king was justly incensed at this contempt of the laws, which was still more extraordinary in persons appointed to maintain justice and order; and that he would have cited the whole body, if some friends of that parliament had not suspended the effects of his anger, by promising him an entire obedience: for, indeed, what right had the parliament of Languedoc to desire that their offices should be excepted from a general rule for the whole province? and, if it was the kind of treaty that displeased them, why, since the proprietors of these offices were allowed to sell, alienate, infeof, and transfer them to others, in the same manner as if they had been part of their own property, would they attempt to deprive his majesty of this right, who was become proprietor of those estates? To this no reply could be made; and the parliament of Toulouse remained convicted of partiality from the fact itself.

The parliament of Dijon consented to purchase, for the sum of sixty thousand crowns, a grant for the jurisdiction of Bresse. However, they gave themselves no trouble about raising this sum, which determined his majesty to augment the *gabelle* in this province, which would procure him, at least, a part of it. The parliament presumed to suppress this augmentation by an arrêt, which was, indeed, cancelled

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by the council, but at the hazard of raising a sedition among the people, who had not before murmured at this impost. The Baron de Lux was commissioned by the king to declare to the parliament of Burgundy how highly he was offended at this procedure. I advised his majesty to prescribe to that parliament a certain time for the payment of the sum that had been promised by them; and, if they did not satisfy him, to declare, without any other form, the jurisdiction of Bresse transferred to the parliament of Dauphiny. The word parliament carries with it an idea of equity, and even wisdom; yet in these bodies we meet with such instances of irregularity, that one cannot help concluding, that, if infallibility may be hoped for among men, it will be found rather in one than a multitude.

I have been always scandalised at the chambers of accounts, which, though established merely that the proceedings between the principal directors of the revenue, the different persons accountable, and the other receivers, might be carried on with method, integrity, and truth, have been of no other effect than to teach all the parties concerned to cheat and steal, by allowing, in the accounts which they passed, a thousand articles which were equally known to be false on one side and on the other. My scheme was to declare all the accounts which had been given in from the year 1598, exclusive, subject to revision. I wrote a circular-letter to the chambers of accounts on the 1st of April, in which I told them, that, in conformity to the pleasure of his majesty, who desired to be satisfied concerning the conduct of all the persons entrusted with his moneys, I had made an exact search for the accounts audited in the council from the year 1598, and not having found such and such receipts for such and such years, which I particularised to each of the chambers, in the search that I had made into their several accounts, one of these two things must have happened, either that the persons who were to pay in the public money had neglected to give in their accounts, or that the council had omitted to keep the extracts or copies. To ascertain this, I enjoined these chambers to order the duplicates of these accounts to be laid before them, to compare them with the papers of the king's council, and to draw up an extract of all that which they found contrary to the form which the king prescribed

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them, and which was expressly sent them every year, that no difficulty might embarrass them. I did not forget to explain to them how that extract ought to be made, in which all residues, salaries, costs, charges of accounts, wages, exemptions, taxations, receipts, and other things of the like nature, were to be included: I ordered them to make extracts of the accounts, not only of general but of particular receivers; because his majesty had been told, that the accounts of the latter, not being usually audited by the council, were those which gave room for most of the illegal prosecutions on the part of the chambers. I concluded the letter by telling them, that, in order to set this inquiry on foot, I neither sent them an edict nor particular commissions, because they were able to do it by virtue of their office: but if they thought further powers necessary, they need but ask them; and that they ought to think themselves obliged to his majesty, that, instead of the rigorous proceedings of a chamber of justice, or an appointment of commissioners, he employed only his ordinary officers to correct abuses; and that it was their business to requite this goodness, by giving the highest proofs of exactness and honesty.

This was an affair likely to cause a dispute between the chamber of accounts and the treasurers, receivers, and other persons employed in the payment of the revenue, who endeavoured to turn aside the stroke by two means: first, by drawing the whole office upon the chamber of accounts; secondly, by declaring that the king had made them purchase a security, both for themselves and their under-agents, against any retrospective inquiry, by a tax of six hundred thousand livres, which had, in effect, been paid. There remained yet another refuge in the chambers of accounts, where we were opposed by difficulties of another kind. Those bodies pretended, as they always do, that the sovereign authority with which they were entrusted in all affairs of the revenue, entitled them to give the last audit to all accounts, without being subject to any examination, even by the king himself. I considered this objection as no further valid than as between the chambers and myself; and I showed his majesty that I was willing to undertake these sovereign courts, provided that he, on his part, would give to me, to them, and the

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council, the necessary orders. It was not my fault that the affair stopped here.

Notwithstanding the regulation which had been made in the foregoing year for the direction of the commissioners sent into the provinces, I still received frequent complaints against them. Hanapier presented his against the commissioners of the salt-office at Buzançois. I cited some of them before the council, where a very severe reprimand was given to Tardieu. I could never make these fellows understand, that by harassing the people for the tax, for instance, upon salt, under a false appearance of zeal for the king's profit, he lost more than he gained upon the whole, by the insolvency to which debtors were reduced; and, to say the truth, they took this pains only for the farmers of the revenue. There was a necessity for reviving, with yet stronger injunctions, the regulation of the *gabelle*, that which regards the distribution of salt among the provinces; that which regards the tax; and that about the sale of contraband salt: for there was no reason why the condition of collectors of the *taille* should be made worse, since it was an office which nobody entered but by force, and which almost nobody quitted but with ruin. I likewise forbid the commissioners to use any extraordinary measures against the registrars, notaries, sergeants, gaugers, and other public persons; or to oblige any public officer to pay the tax of his collection, without first sending to the commissioners-general at Paris the complete state of those taxes, to be examined and authorised. I forbid them, likewise, to decide any controverted case without applying to the council. When these dispositions were formed upon such views, it was not my interest that they should be kept secret, as they commonly are, between the ministers and the persons interested. By the same act which obliged Du Monceau, the commissioner of Berry, to observe them, I made them known likewise to Marshal de la Châtre, and to the treasurers of France, with whom I ordered him to act in concert.

This province appeared to me to want some regulation with regard to the marshalseas; part of the revenues appointed for their maintenance being embezzled, or returned to the office of the receiver-general, the remainder was scarcely sufficient to support a small number of archers: places

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where they were sent to reside were chosen with so little judgment, that in some, where they were most necessary, none were settled, as in Vatan, Issoudun, Argentan, Châteauroux, La Châtre, and St. Amand, where the royal authority was not well respected; while, at the same time, the middle of the province, where they were almost useless, was quite overrun with them. After consulting the treasurers of the province about a new method of distributing these guards, I sent them my regulation on this head. The court of election of St. Amand being partly for Bourbonnais, they granted to the vice-seneschal of this province the right of placing there a lieutenant and a brigade, as being of little importance for the public good, on whom this privilege was conferred.

I obliged those who had been security for the receivers of the deposits of the parliaments of Paris and Bordeaux, to bring in, within four months, the declarations of these receivers to the office of Messieurs de Maisses, Pont-Carré, Caumartin, and Maupeau, appointed for that purpose; and I declared, with their consent, these offices reunited to the domain sixteen years after that date.

Cusse and Marigné, appointed for the reimbursement of the six hundred thousand livres, lent to the king in the year 1598 by the province of Brittany, sent me their final account of receipt and expense; or rather an abstract, and an inaccurate abridgment, by which I found, that, for reimbursing six hundred thousand francs, they acknowledged to have received and given out near one million three hundred and forty thousand livres. I was already informed, by the complaints that were sent me from that province, of the nature of that estimate, and severely reproved those by whom it was given in. I also prosecuted several persons for thefts which Vitry discovered to me in Guienne.*

* One of the principal acts of justice against the financiers, during the Duke of Sully's ministry, was the imprisonment and punishment of the famous contractor L'Argentier. The "Memoirs of the History of France" (vol. ii. p. 271), after having related his misdemeanors and embezzlements, adds the following story: "The last time the king was going to Fontainebleau, L'Argentier, coming to take his leave of his majesty, told him he would soon follow him thither to kiss his hand, and receive his commands; and added, that journey would cost him ten thousand crowns. '*Ventre saint-gris*,' exclaimed his majesty, 'that is

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When it was known that the king had designed to redeem several parts of his domain, many contractors came forward and offered themselves for that purpose: one of them sent to inquire, whether the council would admit him to treat for a share of a hundred and fifty thousand livres: but he would neither discover his name, nor declare what part of the domain, nor even the conditions, upon which he would treat, only that those conditions were very advantageous for his majesty, because he neither desired a long lease, nor any new regulations, but to take everything upon the same footing as it was at present. He made it an express condition, that, after he had declared himself, no one should be allowed to outbid him, without paying him two hundred thousand livres. The singularity of this proposal did not hinder the council from accepting it; but the king insisted upon this person's giving his name, and explaining himself, at least as to the time and nature of the redemption, to himself, the chancellor, and me. His majesty was apprehensive that this unknown contractor might condition for a part of the domain which was in the hands of some persons from whom it might not be convenient to take it. A man, named Longuet, presented likewise, on this subject, a long memorial, which the king sent me, as well as the proposals that were lately made him by the farmers of the aids at Fontainebleau, saying that he suspected those who came in this manner to make him proposals in my absence, designed to impose upon him.

The Duke of Nevers presented a petition to the council for suppressing the salt-office established at Rethelois, at the solicitation of the duchess his mother, to whom the king had given the profits of this office for a certain sum agreed on between them. I was obliged to apply to the treasurers of Champagne, to obtain a certain knowledge of this affair, which had not been transacted in my time; and I found, without

too much for a journey from Paris to Fontainebleau.' 'Yes, Sire,' replied L'Argentier; 'but I have, with your majesty's leave, something else to do there: for I purpose to take a model of the front of your house, in order to have one of mine in Champagne built on the same plan;' at which the king, laughing, took no further notice of it at that time: but when news was brought him of L'Argentier's imprisonment in the Châtelet. 'How!' said he; 'is he going to take a model of the front of the Châtelet?'"

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much difficulty, the original grant to the Duchess of Nevers. The king, when he saw it, was of opinion that this family could have no further claim upon him; however, he sent it to me with orders to make an exact calculation, and if any money remained due to the Duke of Nevers, to pay it; and proposed, instead of suppressing this part of the revenue, to improve it as I had done the others. His majesty had two lawsuits with this house for the inheritances of those of Foix and D'Albret, each party having a claim of millions upon the other. This affair was thought to be very perplexed: but, when I got the writings into my hands, I drew up a memorial so succinct and clear, that the king was soon convinced I had not been mistaken, when I offered it as my opinion that each party would be obliged to come greatly down in their demands.

The people of Lyons had likewise a process in the council, against Feydeau. They represented to his majesty that the council's refusing to deliver them an arrêt, which they had already obtained, was a very severe injury to their trade. The king referred them to me, and I soon settled their business. The good or ill done to such a city as Lyons is of importance to the whole kingdom. For this piece of service, the city sent me her thanks by the mayor and sheriffs.

Upon a report sent me by the treasurers of Beziers, of the manner in which the tax of the mark of gold was levied, I caused an arrêt of council to be issued for suspending this levy. I know not what the king was made to believe concerning it; but his majesty wrote to me not to let this arrêt be signed; or, if it was, not to give notice of it without an order from him; not that he intended to authorise the abuses that were committed in levying this tax, but he was willing, at least, to know what they were. However, those abuses so strongly affected the money arising from it, that I was persuaded, if the king blamed us for anything, it would be for having so long delayed to provide some remedy against them.

But I was afterwards charged with a fault still more grievous in relation to the council. My enemies endeavoured to persuade the king that I introduced none into it but persons who, as they said, neither merited such employment, nor had any regard to the duties of it; and that this procedure occa-

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sioned great confusion in the council. If what they had alleged had been true, I confess I should have deserved something more than those reproaches his majesty made me, as I should have basely abused that confidence with which he had entrusted the whole management of the finances to my care. As I examined into the occasion of such a report, I judged that it could only be the scheme I had formed of joining to the great number of masters of requests, and other men of the robe, of whom the council was generally composed, some men of the sword, chosen from among those who had commissions to be present at them upon extraordinary occasions; and it is certain that I never had an opportunity of talking on this subject to the princes, dukes, peers, and other officers of the crown, in whom I observed a strength of judgment and capacity, and that I did not endeavour to inspire them with an inclination for this employment, which, through a blind prejudice, they thought unworthy of their birth. He only is a truly great man who knows how to be useful to his country at all times, and on all occasions; and what is baseness, but tarnishing, by a soft and effeminate life, such as persons of quality in France lead during peace, all the glory which they had been able to acquire in war?

Far from supposing that I had done wrong by endeavouring to undeceive all those useless voluptuaries of the court, I avowed to the king, that it had been my intention, and I thought it my duty, to settle this matter with his majesty, although by letter; and, consequently, with no great convenience. I drew out a plan of a new council, and sent it to the king, in which four military men were to supply the places of as many councillors out of the eight of which it was composed. To introduce this change in the most effectual manner, it was necessary to have a list of those persons in the kingdom best qualified for such an office, who had exceeded thirty years of age, out of which twenty should be chosen, which, allowing five for each quarter, would always keep the council complete. These were to attend constantly three mornings in a week, wherever the council was held; and if they failed, were to be blotted out of the list, and their places given to others. What immense difference between a body thus composed, and an assembly where every member

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conducts himself by arts which have been the whole study of his life!

I shall not enter here into a particular detail of all that I designed to do. I only observed to the king, that if this project gave him as much pleasure as it did me, he would be still more satisfied with that general rule, which I believed I could so well regulate, as to make it possible for all the secrets of the State to be safely deposited with so many persons of different tempers, understandings, and stations. The king was going to hunt when he received my letter. He read it, however, twice over, and sent me word he would consider of my proposal: but all my endeavours to bring him over to my opinion proved ineffectual. The authorising great abuses is not the worst consequences of a bad custom; for those may be at all times opposed with success; but it is the giving credit to certain abuses less palpable, and concealing them under a mask of wisdom and an appearance of public utility, so as to draw the approbation of princes of the best understanding. These cannot be destroyed but after a long chain of reflections,* and applying remedies to them slowly, and one after the other: but the life of man is too short to afford him leisure for rooting up all of them. This was not the only occasion on which his majesty was not of the same opinion with me. He had been persuaded to erect a new chamber of justice against the financiers, a work that long experience had pronounced useless, and liable to abuses, though still highly agreeable to this prince, who, not choosing to apply any part of his ordinary revenues to his expenses in play, buildings, mistresses, and other things of that nature, which, as I have already said, were very considerable, was glad to find them supplied by a sum of money ready provided to his hand, and which the interested courtiers always represented

* Certainly nothing can be truer than what the author says here; nor can anything be more happily imagined than this project, to destroy those prejudices which still subsist amongst the nobility of France, even in this enlightened age. Why should the finances, trade, or other functions, becoming a good patriot, be deemed more degrading than an acquaintance with the belles-lettres, which the nobility are not ashamed to cultivate? We may hope time will remove these prejudices.

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much greater than he found it to be. I was so grieved to see Henry still the dupe of these people, that I showed my resentment of it in full court: my plainness threw the king into such an extreme rage with me, that my enemies conceived great hopes of my disgrace. The adventure of the Arsenal, which I have already related, added to this, raised them still higher. But, notwithstanding all this, I could not refrain from openly reproving the commissioners of this chamber, when I saw them pretend ignorance of the chief criminals, and punish with no less ostentation than severity such as were guilty of slight misdemeanors.

Mangot, one of the commissioners, acting as king's counsel, having delivered an opinion contrary to particular orders he had received from the king upon an affair which I have now forgotten, I made him sensible that in me he had an overseer who was determined to let nothing pass. He complained of me to his majesty, and prevailed upon his brethren to join with him, at least so it was reported to me; and with circumstances so positive, that I could have no reason to doubt the truth of what I was told. The king did not, indeed, mention the affair to me; but this was far from being a proof that he had not been informed of it. I, therefore, thought it necessary to give his majesty a full relation of all I had said to Mangot, that I might not suffer his resentment to go so far as I had sometimes experienced. I had told Mangot that I would not submit to those pretended orders from the king, unless they were shown to me. It was not difficult to give a bad turn to these words. When I wrote to his majesty, I thanked him for not giving credit to the reports my enemies had made of me to him: I assured him that the warmth I discovered on that occasion proceeded only from my grief at seeing his orders disobeyed by people who expected that he should despoil himself of his whole authority in favour of them, and his interests sacrificed to every consideration. I concluded with earnest entreaties that he would pardon me if, contrary to my intention, I had done anything to displease him.

However, I was deceived in supposing he had heard of this affair: he told me, in his answer, that he was greatly surprised to hear the first news of this quarrel from me; that if those men had spoken to him, he would have replied as a

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master who loves his servant: that all this was only an artifice to inflame me and force me to complain, and by that means create some misunderstanding between us. "I swear to you," he added, "that I have never heard this affair mentioned: your temper is a little precipitate, and I perceive by your letter that you believe all that has been said to you. However, report is an absolute liar: moderate your resentment, and be not so easily prevailed upon to believe all the stories that are brought to you. By indifference, you will revenge yourself on those who envy and hate you for the affection I bear you. This is the first time that I have taken a pen into my hand since this last fit of the gout. My resentment against these slanderers has surmounted my pain."

Caumartin had managed with such prudence and economy the money he was entrusted with to distribute among the Swiss cantons, that he found means to reserve thirty thousand crowns each year, with which he cleared other debts, by making a composition with the creditors. Such an example of justice and probity ought not to be passed over in silence; and is so much the more laudable, as, if he had sought a plausible pretence for turning part of this sum to his own profit, nothing was more easy than to make the Swiss murmur at his parsimony. I did not fail to mention this conduct, with all the praises it deserved, to Du Refuge, who succeeded Caumartin.

The king had lately raised a company of gendarmes, to be commanded by the Duke of Orleans, which he thought so fine, and so well mounted, when he went to review them, that he advanced them, together with that of the queen, a year's pay. He left it to my choice to take the two hundred thousand livres, which this muster cost him, out of the six hundred thousand which were every year brought into the profits of the *taille;* or that the treasury, deducting that sum from the money appropriated to the ordinary war expenses, should pay it back again at the usual time of paying those companies.

With regard to the duties of my other employments, the most considerable, relating to the ordnance, was providing the necessary equipment for an armament of galleys—a work with which the king was highly pleased. However, I was

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willing to spare him part of the expense. In searching amongst the old papers of my predecessors in the post of master-general of the ordnance, I found that in the former reigns many pieces of artillery had been given to the captains of the galleys, which they had engaged to restore when required; but had not done it. The council, to whom I communicated this discovery, agreed with me that we might commence a lawsuit against the heirs of those captains, and force them to make restitution of the pieces of ordnance lent to their predecessors; but, as several persons of quality were interested in this prosecution, I sent the Duke of Rohan to his majesty to ask his permission for it; sending him, at the same time, a paper I had drawn up concerning this affair. The king consented that the suit should be begun, but not carried on with all the rigour it might have been, which rendered all my trouble fruitless. It was always my opinion that it would have been more proper for Henry to have seemed ignorant of the fact, than to have made attempts to recover those pieces of ordnance, and afterwards to desist from them.

I ordered plans to be taken of all the fortresses and coasts of Brittany, which I sent to his majesty, that he might see what was necessary to be done there. I lost this year two excellent engineers, Bonnefort, and the younger Erard, who was already not inferior to his father: their deaths grieved me extremely. I entreated the king not to dispose of their places (for which solicitations were immediately made) till we had both well examined the capacity of those who were candidates for them.

The forcible carrying away of the Sieur de Fontange's daughter, with which I begin the article of the police, relates also to my employment as master-general, since I received orders from his majesty to send some cannon before the castle of Pierrefort, which Fontange, assisted by his friends, besieged in his pursuit of the ravisher. The expenses of a siege soon reduced him to great distress, and obliged him to have recourse to the king. Henry, moved with the justice of his cause, in which, besides, as the common father of his subjects, he could not avoid interesting himself, referred the petition and the bearer to Sillery and myself, writing to me

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that he had just given orders to Du Bourg and Nérestan* to hold their companies in readiness to march thither; and commanded Noailles to advance with his, in order to execute what I should judge fit to be done in favour of Fontange; but that if I was of opinion that he should be at all the expense of the siege of Pierrefort, he recommended it to me to follow the most prudent methods I could in this affair, that it might be as little burdensome as possible to the people. Henry also referred Baumevielle to us, who had proposed an expedient to him, which, he said, had more vanity than solidity in it; and having employed Vanterol to seize a man who was suspected of having entertained some traitorous designs, he sent him to me to be paid the expenses of his journey.

The good order of the police appeared to me likewise to be wounded by the judge of Saumur taking upon him, of his own private authority, to prohibit the exportation of grain out of the kingdom, and of selling it within the extent of his jurisdiction of Saumur. I got the council to cancel this sentence, even before his majesty was informed of it, and the officers of justice by whom it was published were summoned to appear and answer for their conduct.

The parliament of Rouen granted two arrêts, which by some persons were pronounced to be very good, and by others extremely unjust: one was upon the shrine of St. Romain, which is maintained in the privilege of giving pardon for any assassination, however atrocious it might be:† the other upon

* Philibert de Nérestan, captain of the king's guards, and appointed by his majesty, the following year, Grand Master of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St. Lazarus.

† In favour of William de la Mothe-de-Pehu, an accomplice in the murder of Francis de Montmorency, lord of Hallot, the king's lieutenant-general in Normandy, committed sixteen years before, in a very atrocious manner, by Christopher, Marquis d'Allegre. Henry IV. calling this affair before his council, changed the pardon granted to La Mothe into a sentence of banishment for nine years, and to pay several fines, &c. The punishment, in all probability, would have been more severe, if the youth of the criminal had not in some degree alleviated his crime. The king, ever since the year 1597, had greatly abridged the privilege of which the chapter of Rouen is possessed. This process, which at that time made a great noise, occasioned a more strict inquiry into the nature of this question. M. de Thou (vol. iv. p. 160), Nicholas Rigault, the continuator of De Thou, and all other men of

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the marriage of a man named Drouét, auditor of the chamber of accounts, whose history does not merit a place in these Memoirs.

The first president of this parliament being seized with a dangerous distemper, of which, however, he did not die, his majesty ordered me to tell Jambeville, who solicited for this dignity, that he always designed it for him, but that he was not pleased with the eagerness he showed to enjoy it. The office of advocate to the king in the parliament of Bordeaux becoming vacant by the death of the Sieur de Sault, Queen Margaret and D'Ornano requested it for the son of Du Bernet, councillor in that court; but the king refused them, not being willing to give this place, the importance of which the late troubles had sufficiently shown, to any one whose character he was not thoroughly acquainted with: but the picture I drew of Du Bernet procured him the favour of Henry, and a grant of the place. His majesty

learning, so far as one can judge from what is said on this subject in the "Mercure François" (anno 1607, p. 179), made no difficulty to esteem as fabulous the pretended miracle whereby Saint-Romain, Archbishop of Rouen, delivered that city from the ravages of a monster or serpent, commonly called the Gargouille, being assisted in the enterprise by a criminal imprisoned for murder: from whence this privilege had its origin. The evidence by which it was endeavoured to prove that this privilege was really granted by several kings of France, could not stand the test of a strict scrutiny; but was found full of errors, suppositions, and falsehoods, in the times and dates. It is conjectured that this pious fable had its origin from a true miracle performed by this archbishop; but that it was by stopping an inundation, which poetical licence, according to custom, transformed into a monster, besides adorning the story with many other of its usual figures. The word hydra, which was easily altered into serpent, has so near a resemblance to the word which in Greek signifies an inundation, that this alone might easily occasion the mistake. To recite all the reasons contained in the pleadings and writings of that time, or in the different dissertations written since on this subject, for and against the privilege of the canons of the Cathedral Church of Rouen, would take up too much room here. It is no wonder there should have been so great an outcry against an act of devotion so singular as this, whereby an action the most unjust, and tending to authorise what is highly criminal, is made the most essential part of the commemoration of a saint. The ceremonies observed on this occasion (for they still subsist, and are performed every year at Rouen on the feast of the Ascension, being called the Elevation of the Shrine) are described in the "Mercure François," and in many other places.

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greatly regretted the loss of Dinteville and Bretanville, as likewise that of two officers of his household, Sainte-Marie, and Canisy. As he had created their posts only in their favour, they were suppressed at their decease.

That exactness which I have prescribed myself obliges me to give an account here of several sums of money which, by my papers, I find to be paid this year by the orders and for the private expenses of his majesty. Thirty-six thousand livres to Don John de Medicis: the king made me take them upon the hundred thousand livres placed in the state of finances of the present year to the account of his uncle, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Three thousand to Cardinal Givry, and the same sum to Cardinal Seraphin, which remained of the revenues of the Abbey of Clérac, due before the contract made with those of Saint John of Lateran. Three thousand two hundred and twenty-five livres to Santeny, who had lent that sum to the king. Eighteen thousand and sixty livres to the Bishop of Carcassonne, which had been long and importunately solicited by him, as being due to him by his majesty, to whom he proposed expedients without number for the payment. The king ordered me to require a sword enriched with precious stones and some papers from the bishop, which he had given him as security for this sum. Many considerable sums were lost by Henry at play, but I shall not set them all down here. He sent Beringhen to me for nine thousand livres, which he had lost at the fair of St. Germain, in little jewels and trinkets, writing to me that the merchants were very pressing for their money. Beringhen came again some days afterwards for five thousand two hundred and sixty-five livres; three days after that I gave him three thousand more; and another time three thousand six hundred livres.

I do not confound with these sums those that were given by the king to the Prince of Condé, to enable him to make the tour of Italy,—Henry could not be at too much expense to inspire this prince with proper sentiments; those which it cost him to repair the bastions of the gate of St. Antony and La Place-Royale; those which were paid to redeem the queen's rings from Rucelay, to whom they were pledged; nor those which he expended in buildings for his manufactures, which were very considerable, and, in my opinion, very

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useless. The contractors would have thrown down for that purpose all the houses on one side of La Place-Royale; but Henry, according to the plan of the comptroller Donon, ordered them to be satisfied with erecting before those houses a kind of gallery, which preserved on that side of the square a uniformity with the others.

It was a difficult matter to agree upon a price with those celebrated Flemish tapestry-workers which we had brought into France at so great an expense. At length it was resolved, in the presence of Sillery and myself, that a hundred thousand francs should be given them for their establishment. Henry was very solicitous about the payment of this sum, "having," he said, "a great desire to keep them, and not to lose the advances we have made." He would have been better pleased if these people could have been paid out of some other funds than those which he had reserved for himself: however, there was a necessity for satisfying them at any price whatever. His majesty made use of his authority to oblige De Vienne to sign an acquittal to the contractors for linen-cloth in imitation of Dutch holland. This prince ordered a complete set of furniture to be made for him, which he sent me to examine separately, to know if they had not imposed upon him. These things were not at all in my taste, and I was but a very indifferent judge of them: the price seemed to me to be excessive, as well as the quantity. Henry was of another opinion: after examining the work and reading my paper, he wrote to me that there was not too much, that they had not exceeded his orders; that he had never seen so beautiful a piece of work before, and that the workman must be paid his demands immediately.

Henry did not leave Fontainebleau* till the end of July,

* He was attacked by the gout on Whitsun-eve. The fit was violent, says Matthieu, the pain most severe; but his courage and the strength of his constitution would have overcome it, had he not taken a greater liberty in eating fruit than his physicians thought proper to allow him. He did not indulge his disorder, but continued his usual exercise; and about the 21st of May, being in bed with the queen, and perceiving a new fit coming on in one of his feet, he removed into another bed, and finding the motion in his removal of service to him, he got up and ordered himself to be carried to the great canal, where he walked till

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when he went to Monceaux, where he stayed three weeks. Towards the close of August he went to St. Maur, where he was detained some days by a slight indisposition, during which time the queen drank the waters of Vanvres. The king stayed at Paris all the month of September: he went thither again in December, having returned to Fontainebleau about the middle of October, and passed the autumn there. M. le Connétable went thither likewise, and was very graciously received by his majesty when they met at Bouron.

It was one of this prince's highest enjoyments to be with his children, all of whom he loved with the most tender affection.* Hearing in the month of August that the effects of the contagious air began to be perceived at St. Germain, he wrote instantly to Madame de Montglat to take the children to Noisy, and sent Frontenac post to me, to tell me that he depended upon my care and diligence to provide coaches, litters, and waggons necessary for this removal. Monsieur the dauphin falling sick at Noisy, his majesty instantly wrote me an account of it, as he did likewise of his recovery; for he never failed to give me notice of every alteration in his health, whether for the better or worse, as likewise of all the rest of the royal family. It was judged that the children of France might return with safety to St. Germain in the month of November; but Henry, not willing to run the least hazard in a matter of such consequence, wrote to me and Madame de Montglat to stay at Noisy the whole month.† They were accordingly not removed till the 1st of December.

he had tired himself to such a degree, that when he came back he fell asleep; and on waking again he felt himself free from pain.

* Henry IV. has been blamed for suffering the great affection he had for both his lawful and natural children to blind him so far as to prevent his seeing their faults, and acting with his usual prudence in what related to them. This I find him reproached with in the book called "L'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils" (vol. i. p. 43). But I do not know whether the anecdotes it contains are as full of truth as they are of curious matters: I find an appearance of prejudice in it for certain persons, and against others, which gives one sufficient reason to lay no great stress on its evidence.

† The comet which appeared this year in the month of September,

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Time did not bring to the family of this prince that tranquillity which was so often disturbed by the pride and folly of women; on the contrary, those domestic disorders increased every day: great part of the conversation I had with his majesty in his library turned upon this subject. He entreated me, in terms such as one friend would use to another, to interpose once more between the two persons that caused all his uneasiness. I shall treat this subject more fully in the memoirs of the following year; all I shall say concerning it in this being only to explain the meaning of some letters I received from the king: one of these letters is dated from Verneuil, near Senlis, April 15. He there complains that, after having promised him at the Louvre to use my utmost endeavours to bring about an accommodation, yet I had suffered fifteen days to pass without doing anything towards it. "I see," pursued he, "that the entreaties of a friend are not sufficiently persuasive, and you will reduce me to the necessity of requiring your obedience as a king and a master. Do not fail, then, to perform your promise, if you love me and desire that I should love you; for I am resolved to extricate myself from all these intrigues, which, as you well know without my saying it, are but too often renewed, and to put an end to them, whatever it cost me. Adieu. You are very dear to me; but I must be equally so to you, which I shall be convinced of if you render me the service I desire of you."

I find another, dated from Fontainebleau, in the month of October, conceived in these terms: "Something has happened in my family, which has given me more pain than anything of the kind I have ever yet met with. I would purchase your presence at almost any price, for you are the only person to whom I can open my heart, and from whose

gave occasion to take all these precautions for the health of the children of France, because the astrologers gave out that it threatened their lives. Henry IV. said to Matthieu, his historian, who relates it, that the comet had shed its influence on the daughter of the King of England;[1] and that, through God's mercy, the astrologers had been mistaken. (Vol. ii. book iii. p. 769.)

[1] The Princess Mary, James's third daughter; she was only eighteen months old.—ED.

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advice I receive the greatest consolation. This affair is neither of love nor of jealousy, it is a matter of state. Despatch your business quickly, that you may come to me as soon as possible. I employ M. Sillery, but he is unequal to the task. You may guess what it is in which I want your assistance: this obstinacy and insolence will at length become insupportable." "For my private uneasiness," he wrote, some days afterwards, "it will last for ever: if you were here you could not restrain your anger, but would speak your sentiments freely." The reader, I do not doubt, greatly pities this good prince; and it was almost all that I could do for him.

The Duke of Bouillon received a striking instance of the goodness and gentleness of Henry, when he resolved to yield Sedan again to him, and trust the guard of it to himself, by withdrawing Netancourt and the company he had placed there. The Sieur Gamaliel de Monsire, commissary in ordinary of war, was sent thither for that purpose. His instructions, which were dated the last day of December in the present year, imported that, although the term of four years, during which the royal garrison was to remain there, was not yet expired, yet his majesty thought proper, for sufficient reasons, to withdraw it, and to put the Duke of Bouillon again in possession of this city; that Monsire should give this company their pay for the remaining four months of the present year, after which it should be disbanded; and that this commissary should take care that the soldiers paid all the debts they had contracted among the townspeople. It being the king's intention to fulfil exactly the article of the act of protection of April the 2nd, 1596, by which his majesty engaged to maintain there a certain number of officers and troops for the security of the city, Monsire was directed to make those officers and soldiers who were placed in Sedan in the room of those that were commanded to leave it take a particular oath to his majesty, besides that which by the treaty they were obliged to take four times a year, at their quarterly payments. These officers and soldiers bound themselves by oath to serve the king for and against all persons whatever, even against the Duke of Bouillon himself, if he should neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of 1606; and, lastly, Monsire was ordered

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to oblige the burghers of Sedan likewise to take the oath expressed in the act of protection, which differed from the other only in this, that they were released from that taken to the Duke of Bouillon, and by his own consent, if he should ever be capable of engaging in opposite interests to those of his majesty. All this was exactly performed. The original instrument of this transaction was executed before the notaries of Sedan, and proved, as well as the two oaths taken by the burghers and soldiers, which were reduced to writing, and dated, one on the 22nd, the other on the 23rd of January following.

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BOOK XXV.

[1608.]

Interludes and balls at the Arsenal—A pleasant adventure between the Duke of Sully and Pimentel—Great offers made by Henry to Sully, which the latter refuses—The amours and mistresses of Henry IV.—An interesting conversation between him and Sully on the uneasiness he suffered from the queen, the Marchioness of Verneuil, and their creatures—He employs Sully to pacify them—Birth of the third son of France—Sully is made umpire between the king and the Marchioness of Verneuil—Quarrels, in which the Prince of Joinville, the Count of Sommerive, and the Duke of Eguillon, are concerned, with other court intrigues—Difficulty in concluding the marriage of the Duke of Vendôme and Mademoiselle de Mercœur—A sedition among the heads of the Protestants, and the affairs of that party—Services which Sully does the king in the assembly of Protestants at Gergeau—Private life of Henry—He gives the Bishopric of Metz to the Duke of Verneuil—The clergy obtain some grants of the king, but are denied others—Henry carries on public works at his own expense—Money which he loses at play—A great rising of the Loire—Affairs of the finances, of the police, and other parts of the government—Sully's memorial upon the *taille*—Reflections upon the changes which have been made in the government of France—The Duke of Mantua comes to Paris—A further account of the affairs of the United Provinces—The truce is concluded—The part Henry has in it—The weak condition of Spain—The revolt of the Moors and their expulsion from Spain—Affairs of Germany.

THE Memoirs of this year, like those of the former, will contain none of those extraordinary events which cannot be read without astonishment or horror. I shall continue in them my usual details of the government, court intrigues, and the private life of Henry, as well as my own. The winter was spent in diversions more varied and more frequent than ever, and in shows prepared with great magnificence. The king had sent for some comedians from Italy, in whose performances he took much delight; he often sent for them to

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Fontainebleau to play before him, and in my absence commanded my son to pay them their appointments with great exactness. The Arsenal was generally the place where those plays and shows were exhibited which required some preparations. The king sometimes, when I was absent, came thither to run at the ring, but he never thought there was the same order and regularity preserved as when I was there; and the queen and the whole court thought no other place so agreeable and convenient for theatrical representations. For this purpose I had caused a spacious hall to be built, and fitted up, with an amphitheatre, and a great number of boxes, in several galleries separated from each other, with different degrees of height, and particular doors belonging to them. Two of these galleries were destined for the ladies, no gentleman being allowed to enter with them. This was one of my regulations, which I would not suffer to be broken, and of which I did not think it beneath me to enforce the observation.

One day, when a very fine ballet was represented in this hall, I perceived a man leading in a lady, with whom he was preparing to enter one of the women's galleries; he was a foreigner, and I easily distinguished of what country by the swarthy colour of his skin. "Sir," said I to him, "you must seek for another door, if you please; for I do not imagine that, with such a complexion, you can hope to pass for a fair lady." "My lord," answered he, in very bad French, "when you know who I am, I am persuaded you will not refuse to let me sit among those fair ladies, swarthy as I am. My name is Pimentel; I have the honour to enjoy his majesty's favour, who plays very often with me." This was, indeed, but too true; for this foreigner, whom I had already heard often mentioned, had won immense sums from the king. "How, *Ventre de ma vie!*" said I to him, affecting to be extremely angry; "you are then that fat Portuguese* who every day wins the king's money. *Pardieu!* you are come to a bad place; for I neither like such people, nor will suffer them to come here." He offered to reply, but I would not hear him. "Go, go," said I, pushing him back, "you shall not enter here: I am not to be prevailed upon by your gibberish."

* Pimentel was not a Portuguese, but an Italian.

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The king afterwards asking him if he did not think the ballet very fine and the dances exquisitely performed, Pimentel told him that he had a great inclination to see it, but that he met his grand financier, with his negative front, at one of the doors, who turned him back. He then related his adventure with me, at which the king was extremely pleased, and laughed heartily at his manner of telling it; nor did he forget to divert the whole court with it afterwards.

I shall not here have recourse to the artifices of false modesty to insinuate that the affection the king showed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, had risen to such a height that if I had been capable of aspiring to the proud title of "favourite," I might have obtained it. The reader may judge of this by the offers his majesty made me this year: but it is necessary to take this matter a little higher.

Among the many calumnies which in the year 1605 had brought me to the brink of ruin, my enemies, by private informations, endeavoured to persuade Henry that I intended to procure so rich and so powerful an alliance for my son,* as might one day render him formidable to his majesty himself; that several persons, either by my desire, or to make their 'court to me, laboured so earnestly for the success of this scheme, that already I had it in my choice to marry my son either to Mademoiselle de Bourbon, de Mayenne, de Montmorency, de Bouillon, or De Créquy, or into any of the richest private families in the kingdom, if I preferred a great estate to a noble name. This was one of the principal points of that long and serious conversation I had with his majesty the preceding year in his library, and of which I promised to relate all that I was permitted to discover, as opportunities offered. Henry asked me what were my views for my son, and whether there was any truth in those reports that he had heard concerning his marriage with one of those ladies I have mentioned. I acknowledged to his majesty that it was indeed true. Each of those families had made me offers very capable of dazzling an ambitious man; but that my constant

* Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, eldest son of the Duke of Sully, by Anne de Courtenay, his first wife. He was superintendent of the fortifications, Governor of Mantes and Gergeau, and master-general of the ordnance in reversion, after the death of his father; but he died before him, in 1634.

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reply had been, that it was from his majesty alone I would receive a wife for my son.

The king appeared extremely well satisfied with this answer and these sentiments; and opening his heart entirely, he told me, that with regard to me there were two things which would give him equal uneasiness; one of which was, if, knowing the extreme concern it gave him to see the chief of his nobility mixing their blood with that of a burgher or a plebeian, I should ever dream of marrying my son below the dignity of his birth; and the other, if, erring in the contrary extreme, I should choose a wife for him either out of the house of Bourbon or of Lorraine, but more especially that of Bouillon. Therefore, among the five young ladies proposed for Rosny, he saw only Mademoiselle de Créquy on whom he could fix his choice; for every one knew the houses of Bonne, Blanchefort, and Agoust to be of the lowest class of the nobility, although otherwise distinguished as much by brave examples of personal valour, as by the most shining dignities of the State. Henry, confirming himself in this thought, added, that he would not have the proposal come from any but himself, and that he would take a convenient time for it, which he did almost immediately after.

Lesdiguières and Créquy were not hard to be persuaded; I may even say that the eagerness they showed for the conclusion of the match did not abate till they saw the articles not only drawn up, but signed. I may say, likewise, with equal truth, that in the conditions they found no artifice on my side: I sought rather to acquire tender friends, than relations still nearer connected. Nothing fell out in the succeeding years that did not confirm me in the thought that I had succeeded in my endeavours to procure this happiness. Those years were full of glory and prosperity for me; but they are passed: those friends, so affectionate, have disappeared with my favour; those allies, so respectful, have vanished with my fortune. But what do I say? Have they not endeavoured to complete my misfortune, and that of my son, by giving me cause to detest, on a thousand accounts, the most unhappy of all alliances? Why had I not the power of reading hearts? But perhaps I have reason to thank Heaven for my error and my credulity; the temptation to which I saw myself a short time afterwards exposed, might

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have been then too powerful for conscience to have surmounted.

Although the marriage, thus absolutely resolved on, was not celebrated immediately, as both parties left it to the king to fix the time for it,* from that moment I looked upon the tie which united the family of Créquy to mine as indissoluble; and I was so far the dupe of the sincerity and tenderness of my own heart as to make this alliance one argument for not suffering myself to be influenced by the enchanting prospect that was suddenly offered to my view. It was at the latter end of this year, which was some months after the treaty with the Créquy family had been concluded, that this temptation was thrown in my way; and in the beginning of this, when I was more strongly assailed by it. But before I explain myself, it is necessary to observe that it was still by an effect of the most refined malice of my enemies that I saw myself in a situation wherein it depended only upon my own choice to reach the highest degree of greatness and splendour that any subject could arrive at.

My enemies then began to insinuate to the king, under an appearance of zeal both for him and myself, which he thought very sincere, that he had not yet done enough for me; that he ought not to delay offering and obliging me to accept all that his munificence was able to bestow, without requiring anything more of me than what, indeed, appeared most essential and indispensably necessary—namely, to quit the Protestant and embrace the Catholic religion. It was, doubtless, far from their intention to procure so many advantages for me; and I shall easily prove that the object they had in view was diametrically opposite to that which they appeared to have by the proposals they made. They had inwardly so good an opinion of me as to believe that I would not purchase any advancement at the price of quitting my religion. From

* It was not celebrated till the month of October, in the following year, at Charenton, by M. du Moulin, a Reformed minister. The lady was only nine or ten years old: she was called Frances, daughter of Charles de Blanchefort de Créquy, Prince of Poix, and afterwards Duke of Lesdiguières, by his marriage with Magdalen de Bonny de Lesdiguières, daughter of the constable of that name. The Marquis of Rosny had issue by her, Maximilian Francis de Bethune, Duke of Sully, &c., and Louisa de Bethune, who died unmarried.

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my refusal, therefore, they hoped to persuade the king that he had everything to fear from a man who was capable of making his religion triumph over his interest, which it was generally found no considerations, whether sacred or profane, were able to resist. The king, pleased with the prospect of advancing me, received this proposal with intentions so different from those of the persons by whom it was made to him, that I cannot preserve a too grateful remembrance of his goodness.

Accordingly, he sent for me one morning to the Louvre; and shutting himself up with me in his library, "Well, my friend," said he, "you have been in great haste to conclude the treaty for your son's marriage, though I cannot conceive why; for in this alliance I can see no advantage for you, either in blood, riches, or person." Henry, it is apparent, had forgotten that I had done nothing in this affair but by his express commands. "I have resolved," continued he, "to employ you with more authority than ever in the administration, and to raise you and your family to all sorts of honours, dignities, and riches; but there is a necessity that you should assist me in the execution of this design; for if you do not contribute to it on your side, it will be difficult for me to accomplish my intentions without prejudice to my affairs and hazarding great blame, consequences which I am persuaded you would be unwilling I should draw upon myself. My design, then, is to ally you to myself, by giving my daughter Vendôme* in marriage to your son, with a portion of two hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and a pension of ten thousand a year; the government of Berry to your son, to which I shall join that of Bourbonnais after Madame d'Angoulême's decease, and the domain she possesses there, by reimbursing the money it cost her. I will likewise give your son the post of master-general of the ordnance in reversion, and the government of Poitou to your son-in-law, for which I shall give you that of Normandy in exchange; for I see very plainly that poor M. de Montpensier

* Catherine Henrietta de Vendôme, legitimated daughter of Henry IV. by Gabrielle d'Estrées. She married Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

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will not live long,* any more than the constable, whose office I likewise destine for you, and will give you the reversion of it now. But to favour all this, it is necessary that you and your son should embrace the Catholic religion. I entreat you not to refuse me this request, since the good of my service, and the fortune of your house, require it."

The recital I have made here is so proper to excite and to flatter vanity that, to avoid so dangerous a snare, I will not give way to any reflections upon it, not even to such as must necessarily arise on the goodness of a prince, who enforced his entreaties with acts of the highest munificence. My answer was conceived, as I remember, in these terms: I told his majesty that he did me more honour than I deserved, and even more than I could hope or desire: that it was not for me to decide concerning the two proposals he had made for my son, since his settlement in the world depended entirely on his majesty, and he was arrived at an age that rendered him capable of serious reflections upon religion, and might therefore direct his choice himself; but with regard to me, the case was quite different. I assured him with the utmost sincerity that I could not think of increasing my honours, dignities, or riches, at the expense of my conscience: that if I should ever change my religion, it would be from conviction alone, neither ambition, avarice, nor vanity being able to influence me: and that if I acted otherwise, his majesty himself would have good reason for distrusting a heart that could not preserve its faith in God. "But why," replied Henry, with a cordiality that sensibly affected me,—"why should I suspect you, since you would not do anything that I have not done before you, and which, when I proposed the affair to you, you did not advise me to the contrary? Give me, I beseech you, this satisfaction. I will

* Henry de Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier, actually died in the month of February in this year, after languishing two years, during which time he lived only on women's milk, having prepared himself in a truly Christian manner for his death. Henry IV. being informed of it, said aloud, "We ought all to pray to God to grant us as much time to repent as this prince had." (Matthieu, ibid. 772.) The Duke of Montpensier was only thirty-five years old. The branch of Bourbon-Montpensier became extinct in him; for he left only one daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, second son of Henry IV.

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allow you a month to consider of it. Fear not that I will fail in the performance of any of my promises."

"I have not, Sire," I replied, "the least doubt but that your word is inviolable. I desire nothing so ardently as to please you, nor will I ever neglect anything that is in my power to do. I promise to think seriously of all that you have been pleased to propose to me, still hoping I shall satisfy your majesty, though not, perhaps, in the way you expect."

The Protestants hearing that I intended to break off my proposed alliance with Lesdiguières, and to marry my son to Mademoiselle de Vendôme, for this report was immediately spread everywhere, now believed they were going to lose me entirely. They had long, with the severest reproaches, accused me of having laboured to ruin the party in France, by amassing up considerable sums for the king, and providing such an abundance of warlike stores, which their fears represented to them would be first employed against them. In vain did I endeavour to convince them that they had no reason to apprehend such designs from a prince like Henry. Their prejudices made them always return to their former suspicions of me; in these they were confirmed by the affection the king showed for Rosny, calling him often *my son:* the free access which all ecclesiastics had to my house; the care I took to repair churches, hospitals, and convents, in which I every year expended a considerable sum of the royal revenues; the brief of Paul V., of which several copies had been taken; and I know not how many other circumstances, all which at that moment concurred to persuade them of my breach of faith.

The chief persons amongst the Protestants, and the ministers especially, seemed to be most uneasy at this report, not only because of the triumph which their enemies were going to have over them, but because they were persuaded, and they even said it publicly, that if I was once prevailed upon to abandon them, I should not act with indifference towards them, but become their most zealous persecutor. For a long space of time, I heard nothing but exhortations, remonstrances, and harangues from that party, which were not likely to be very efficacious after what the king had said to

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me, if I had not happily found the strongest support within myself. The Countess of Sault, Lesdiguières, and the Créquy family, exerted themselves in the mean time with the utmost vigour to hinder the marriage with Mademoiselle de Créquy from being broken off, and that with Mademoiselle de Vendôme from going forward: they endeavoured to persuade the queen to interest herself in their cause, and complained to her of what was designed to their prejudice. But finding that she would do nothing in the affair, they renewed their solicitations to me, making use of every method they thought capable of keeping me on their side; assiduities, assurances, promises, oaths, all were employed to dissuade me from a design I had never entertained.

During these transactions, I left Paris to take a journey to Sully, and my other estates; and immediately upon my return, which was at the end of ten or twelve days, his majesty sent Villeroy to me to receive my answer upon the proposals he had made to me. I was not sorry that he had deputed a person to me before whom I could declare, with the utmost freedom, those sentiments which reflection had but the more confirmed. I told Villeroy that I most humbly thanked his majesty for all the honours he had conferred on me; that I could never consent to be invested with the offices of persons still living; and that, although they should become vacant, I did not think myself entitled to them, being already possessed of as many as I desired; that as to what regarded my son, I should never have any other counsel to give him, than to obey the king, and to do nothing against his own conscience. I had particular reasons for being still less explicit upon the articles of my change of religion: I therefore only told Villeroy that Cardinal Du Perron should bear my answer to his majesty. His eminence, as well as Henry, thought there was a great meaning in these words: the king related them to Du Perron, declaring that he entertained some hopes from them. And soon after this, the cardinal came to visit me, and entreated me to open my whole heart to him. My answer had both strength, and even theology enough in it to convince Du Perron that he had been deceived in his expectations: neither his learning nor his eloquence could move me; and at his return he told the king I was inflexible.

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His majesty, who was desirous of making one effort more, sent for me again; but although he made use of no other arguments than what the gentleness of his disposition and his affection for me suggested, and, if I may be permitted to say so, such solicitations as became our ancient friendship, yet I was persuaded the danger would not stop there, great as it was even then, especially when he began to reproach me; and called my constancy and firmness obduracy to him; and, a certain sign, he said, that I no longer loved him. At length he told me that this was the last time he would speak of this matter to me, and that he expected I should give him my son at least. To this I again replied, that I would not deny him; but that I could not consent to use the authority of a father to make my son embrace the Roman Catholic religion. His firmness was equal to my own; and the king, who would not bestow his daughter on any of the princes of the blood, for fear of rendering them too powerful, resolved to marry Mademoiselle de Vendôme to the son of the constable. The Countess of Sault took this opportunity to renew her solicitations for the accomplishing her granddaughter's marriage.

All that now remained to be done was to guard against the counter-blow of my enemies; and this I did not neglect, when I found that they were busy in preparing it for me. I took that opportunity to write to the king, telling him that I was not ignorant of anything that was reported to him to give him a bad impression of my thoughts, words, and actions: that they imputed to me what I neither thought, said, nor did. I earnestly entreated him not to forget the promise he had made me that he would himself declare to me his will, and what causes of complaint he had against me. His answer was wholly calculated to restore my quiet, and secure me against all apprehensions from my enemies: he told me in it that I, in common with all persons in power, excited more envy than compassion. "You know," added he, "whether I am exempted from it, from the people of both religions. This, then, is all you have to do; that since I take your advice in all my affairs, do you also take mine in everything that relates to you, as that of the most faithful friend you have in the world, and the best master that ever lived."

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It was not without some reason that Henry instanced himself as an example. He had likewise his uneasinesses and his secret enemies; for although we no longer, as formerly, saw seditions ready to break out in the kingdom, because the exertion of the royal authority had obliged insolence and mutiny to keep themselves concealed, yet it was but too certain that in court, and among the most considerable persons in the kingdom, the same turbulent and restless spirit, the same eager panting after novelties, which had so long kept the State in disorder and anarchy, were perceived. That spirit now showed itself in divisions amongst families, and quarrels between particular persons, which Henry laboured to compose by every method in his power, looking upon them as seeds from whence nothing but the most dangerous fruits could proceed, and it gave him great pain when he could not always succeed to his wish. The reign of Henry IV., which in many respects bore a great resemblance to that of Augustus, had likewise this in conformity with his, that it was disturbed by quarrels among his nobility; and on these occasions the example of Augustus was what Henry commonly proposed to himself to imitate. *Æquitate non aculeo*, was the motto which, by his direction, I put on the gold medals struck this year, which represented a swarm of bees in the air, with their king in the midst of them, without a sting. I presented these medals to Henry as he passed through his little gallery to that which leads to the Tuileries, where we walked together a long time, discoursing upon the subject I have just mentioned, and those domestic quarrels which embittered the life of a prince too gentle and too good, whose unhappiness I have so often deplored.

The reader may perceive that, in my Memoirs of late years, I have faithfully observed the promise I had formerly made, to entertain him no more with the weaknesses of Henry. I carefully concealed from secretaries, and all other persons, whatever passed between Henry and myself upon this subject, in the many long and secret conversations we had together. Except the Duchess of Beaufort and the Marchioness of Verneuil, the name of no other woman has been mentioned in these Memoirs, with the title of mistress to the king. I choose rather to suppress all the trouble I have suffered in this article, than make it known at the expense of my mas-

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ter's glory: probably I have carried this scruple too far. The public has heard so often the names of Madame de Moret,* Mademoiselle des Essarts, old Madame D'Angoulême, the Countess of Sault, Mesdames De Ragny, and De Chamlivault, two of my relations, the Commandeur de Sillery,† Rambouillet, Marillac, Duret the physician, another physician, who was a Jew, and many of the most considerable persons at court, all differently interested in these adventures of gallantry, either as principals or as parties concerned, that I might relate a great deal without saying anything new, which would be indeed but a cold repetition of little debates and love quarrels, such as those which I have already slightly mentioned. The following circumstance I have excepted from this rule, as it is of a nature that seems to require I should justify my part in it to the public.

On one of those occasions when Henry was most deeply affected with the uneasy temper of the queen, it was reported that he had quitted her with some emotion, and set out for

* Jacqueline du Beuil, Countess of Moret; Charlotte des Essarts, Countess of Romorantin; two of Henry IV.'s mistresses. By the first he had Antony, Earl of Moret, killed at the battle of Castelnaudary, in 1632: and by the second, he had two daughters; one abbess of Fontevraud, and the other of Chelles. By those two ladies, by the Duchess of Beaufort, and by the Marchioness of Verneuil, who successively had openly the title of the king's mistress, he had eight children, which were all he legitimated. Besides these he was in love with Mary Babou, Viscountess d'Estanges, two cousins of the fair Gabrielle, and many others. (See L'Histoire des Amours du Grand Alcandre.) After the death of Henry IV., Mademoiselle des Essarts secretly married the Cardinal of Guise, Louis of Lorraine; the pope having granted him a dispensation for that marriage, and, at the same time, empowered him still to hold his benefices. This is proved by the very contract of marriage, found amongst the Cardinal's papers after his death, executed in the most authentic form. Mention is made of this in the "Mercure Hist. and Polit." (April, 1688). From this marriage two sons were born; one Bishop of Condom, and the second Earl of Romorantin; and two daughters, one of whom married the Marquis of Rhodes. Charlotte des Essarts afterwards married Francis du Hallier de l'Hôpital, Marshal of France, Earl of Rosny, &c. The commentary of "Les Amours du Grand Alcandre" remarks only, that she was the Cardinal of Guise's mistress; and afterwards of N. de Vic, Archbishop of Auch. She was the natural daughter of the Baron of Sautor, in Champagne. (Journal du Règne de Henry III., printed in 1720, vol. i. p. 277.)

† Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor, ambassador at Rome.

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Chantilly without seeing her. This indeed was true: he took the Arsenal in his way, and there opened his whole heart to me upon the cause of this dispute. The king pursued his journey, and I went in the afternoon to the Louvre, attended only by one of my secretaries, who did not follow me to the queen's little closet, where she was then shut up. Leonora Conchini was sitting at the door of this closet, her head bending down towards her shoulder, like a person who was sleeping, or at least in a profound reverie. I drew her out of it, and she told me that the queen would not suffer her to enter her closet, the door of which, however, was opened to me the moment I was named.*

I found the queen busy in composing a letter to the king, which she allowed me to read: it breathed an air of spleen and bitterness which must inevitably have very bad effects. I made her so sensible of the consequences it was likely to produce that she consented to suppress it, though with great difficulty, and upon condition that I should assist her in composing another, wherein nothing should be omitted of all that, as she said, she might with justice represent to the king her husband. There was a necessity for complying with this request to avoid something worse. Many little debates arose between us, concerning the choice of expressions and the force of each term. I had occasion for all the presence of mind I was capable of exerting, to find out the means of

* The queen, for a long time, placed great confidence in M. de Sully. The author of "L'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils" says, that princess having resolved one day, by the advice of Conchini, to inform the king that certain of the courtiers had had the boldness to make love to her, she was desirous of previously taking the Duke of Sully's advice in regard to it, who persuaded her not to execute that resolution, by representing to her, "that she was going to give the king the strongest and justest suspicion a sovereign could have of his wife; since every man of common sense must know very well that it would be highly improper to entertain a person of her rank on the subject of love, without previously being assured that it would not be disagreeable to her, or from her having made the first advances: and that the king might imagine the motives which had induced her to make such a discovery, were either fear that it should have been made by some other means, or that she had taken a disgust against the persons accused, by meeting with somebody else more agreeable in her eyes; or, in fine, through the persuasion of others, who had influence enough over her to prevail on her to take this resolution." (Vol. i. p. 10.)

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satisfying this princess, without displeasing the king, or of being guilty of any disrespect in addressing him. This letter, which was very long, I shall not repeat here. The queen complained in it of the continual gallantries of the king her husband; but declared that she was excited to this only by the earnest desire she had to possess his heart entirely. If, therefore, she appeared to insist too absolutely upon his sacrificing his mistress to her, her quiet, her conscience, and her honour, the interest of the king, his health and his life, the good of the State, and the security of her children's succession to the throne, which the Marchioness of Verneuil took pleasure in rendering doubtful, were so many motives which reduced her, she said, to the disagreeable necessity of making such a demand, with some degree of peremptoriness; to awaken his tenderness and excite his compassion, she added, that she, together with the children she had by him, would throw themselves at his feet. She reminded him of his promises, and took God to witness that if she could but prevail upon him to keep them, she would, on her part, renounce all other vengeance against the Marchioness de Verneuil.

All my caution was scarcely sufficient to avoid the extremes the queen would have run into: it is apparent, however, that I failed either in address or invention, for the king, when he received this letter, was exceedingly offended with it, and so much the more, as he instantly perceived that it was not in the queen's manner. I received a note from him immediately, conceived in these terms: "My friend, I have received the most impertinent letter from my wife that ever was written. I am not so angry with her as with the person that has dictated it; for I see plainly that it is not her style. Endeavour to discover the author of it: I never shall have any regard for him, whoever he be, nor will I see him as long as I live." However secure I thought myself, I could not help being uneasy at this note.

The king, on his arrival from Chantilly three or four days afterwards, came to the Arsenal. I was sufficiently perplexed by the questions he asked me concerning this affair, for it was expressly for that purpose that he came. "Well," said he, "have you yet discovered the person who composed my wife's letter?" "Not yet, certainly," replied I, making

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use of some little address; "but I hope to give you this satisfaction in two days, and probably sooner, if you will tell me what there is in it that displeases you." "Oh," replied he, "the letter is mighty well written, full of reasons, obedience, and submission; but wounds me smiling, and while it flatters piques me. I have no particular exception to make to it; but, in general, I am offended with it, and shall be the more so if it be made public." "But, Sire," replied I, "if it be such as you say, it may have been written with a good intention, and to prevent something still worse." "No! no!" interrupted Henry, "it is maliciously designed, and with a view to insult me. If my wife had taken advice from you, or from any of my faithful servants, in it, I should not have been so much offended." "What! Sire," I resumed hastily, "if it were one of your faithful servants who had dictated it, would you not bear him some ill-will?" "Not the least," returned the king; "for I should be very certain that he had done it with a good intention." "It is true, Sire," said I, "therefore you must be no longer angry; for it was I that dictated it, through an apprehension that something worse might happen; and when you know my reasons you will confess that I was under a necessity of doing it. But, to remove all your doubts, I will show you the original, written in my own hand, by the side of the queen's." Saying this, I took the letter out of my pocket, and presented it to him.

The king as he read it made me observe some words, in the place of which the queen, when she copied the letter, had substituted others far less obliging. "Well," said he, "since you are the author, let us say no more of it; my heart is at rest. But this is not all," added he, taking advantage of the ascendant which on this occasion I seemed to have over the mind of the queen; "there are two services which I expect from you." I listened to the king with great attention, and without once interrupting him, although he spoke a long time; and I shall here relate his words, which I took down in writing at the time. It is by this kind of familiar conversation that the heart is best known. "I know," said he, "that my wife came twice to your house while I was at the chase; that she was shut up with you in your wife's closet each time above an hour; that at her coming out from

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thence, although her colour seemed to be raised by anger, and her eyes full of tears, yet she behaved in a friendly manner to you, thanked you, and appeared not ill satisfied with what you had said to her; and that you may know that I am not ill informed, I shall not hide from you that it was my cousin De Rohan, your daughter, who related all this to me; not for the sake of telling secrets, but because she thought I should be glad to see my wife and you upon such friendly terms. It must certainly be, therefore, that my wife has some business of consequence with you; for, notwithstanding all the questions I have asked her, she has never said a single word, or given the smallest intimation of these two conferences. I forbid you likewise, upon pain of my displeasure, to say anything of this matter to my cousin De Rohan: you will deprive me of the pleasure I have in seeing her here, and she will never tell me anything more if she knows I have repeated this to you. Although I laugh and play with her as with a child, yet I do not find in her a childish understanding. She sometimes gives me very good advice, and is extremely secret, which is an excellent quality. I have told her many things in confidence, which I have been convinced she never mentioned, either to you or to any other person.

"But to return to these two important services, which you only, in my opinion, are able to undertake, I have already said, and I repeat it again, that you must be extremely careful to avoid giving the least suspicion that you have concerted with me what you are to do and say in these affairs: it must not appear that I knew anything of your interposition, but that you act entirely of yourself; and you must even feign to be apprehensive of its coming to my ear. One of these services regards Madame de Verneuil. It is with her you must begin, and this will smooth your way to the other. You must tell this lady that, as her particular friend, you come to give her notice that she is upon the point of losing my favour, unless she behaves with great prudence and circumspection. That you have discovered that there are persons at court who are endeavouring to engage me in affairs of gallantry with others; and that if this should happen, you are fully persuaded that I shall take her children from her, and confine her to a cloister. That this abatement

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in my affection for her is, in the first place, apparently caused by the suspicion I have entertained that she no longer loves me; that she takes the liberty to speak of me often with contempt, and even prefers other persons to me; secondly, because she seeks to strengthen herself with the interest of the house of Lorraine, as if she were desirous of some other protector than me; but above all, her connexions and familiarities with Messieurs de Guise and De Joinville offend me to the last degree, being fully convinced that from them she will receive only such counsels as are dangerous both to my person and the State; as likewise from her father and her brother, with whom, notwithstanding my prohibition to her, she still corresponds, when she might have thought herself happy, that at her entreaties I spared their lives; that she sends messages to her brother by his wife, whom I have allowed to visit him; but that the chief cause of my estrangement from her is her insolent behaviour to the queen."

Henry then told me many circumstances concerning the marchioness, which I have already related. "If," continued he, "either by an effect of your industry or good fortune, you can prevail upon her to alter her conduct in all these respects, you will not only free me from great uneasiness, and set my heart at rest with regard to her, but you will likewise furnish yourself with the means of disposing the queen to accommodate herself to my will, which is the second service that I require and expect from you. You must remonstrate with her, still as from yourself, that it is absolutely necessary she should do so, if she would engage me to give her the satisfaction she demands. That, among many other causes of disgust which she gives me, nothing is more insupportable to me, than that absolute authority she suffers Conchini and his wife to have over her; that these people make her do whatever they please, oppose all that they dislike, and love and hate as they direct her passions; that they have at length exhausted my patience; and that I often reproach myself for not following the advice given me by the Duchess of Florence, Don John, Joannini, Gondy, and even what my own judgment suggested, which was to send them both back to Italy from Marseilles. I was desirous," pursued the king, "to repair this fault, through the interposition of Don John; but I soon perceived it was too late; for

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scarcely did he enter upon the subject with the queen, to whom he proposed it by way of advice, than she flew, as you know, into such an excess of rage against him, that there was no sort of reproaches, insults, and threats which she did not use to him; so that, not able to endure them, he quitted France, notwithstanding all my endeavours to retain him. But before this happened, the Princess of Orange thought of other expedients for removing these two persons, and proposed them to me by Madame de Verneuil, who thought to prevail upon the queen, by this complaisance for her favourites, to permit her to see her, and come freely to the Louvre. These expedients, to which I consented, because I found you did not oppose them, were to marry Conchini to Leonora, and afterwards to send them back to Italy, under the honourable pretence of living with splendour in their own country, upon the great riches they had acquired in France; but all this, instead of softening my wife, or engaging her to alter her conduct, has only taught her to oppose my will with more obstinacy than before; and the Conchinis, both husband and wife, are now become so insolent and audacious, that they have dared to threaten my person, if I use any violence to their friends."

It was not easy for the king to quit this subject, through the rage with which he was agitated against this whole party. Among many others, he recounted the following circumstance, which, till then, I thought he had been ignorant of. My wife, knowing that Conchini had a design to purchase La Ferté-au-Vidame, which was worth two or three hundred thousand crowns, she thought such a considerable estate would give occasion for murmurs that could not fail of reflecting back upon the queen herself, on account of the protection she was known to grant them. She did not hesitate, therefore, a moment about waiting on the queen, to represent to her that it was her interest to hinder Conchini from pushing this matter any further. The queen received this advice very graciously, and thanked my wife for giving it her; but as soon as she saw the Conchinis, they knew so well how to make her alter her opinion, that she exclaimed in a strange manner against Madame de Rosny, and would not see her for some time. Probably her resentment would have lasted much longer, had she not reflected, that both herself and her

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favourites had always occasion for me. "I have been told," added Henry, "that Conchini had the impudence to reproach your wife upon this occasion, and used expressions so full of insolence both against her and me, that I am surprised she did not answer him more severely; but, doubtless, she was restrained by her fears of breaking entirely with my wife. You cannot imagine," pursued Henry, not able to cease his invectives against this Italian, "how greatly I was provoked to see this man undertake to be the challenger at a tournament, against all the bravest and most gallant men in France, and this in the Grande Rue St. Antoine, where my wife and all the ladies of the court were present, and that he should have the good fortune to carry it. But nothing ever gave me greater pleasure than I had at this course, when I saw M. de Nemours and the Marquis de Rosny, your son, arrive, mounted upon two excellent horses, which they managed with equal grace, and uncommon justness."

Henry, after dwelling some time longer upon a circumstance that had given him so much pleasure, renewed his former subject. "Be careful," said he to me, "to manage those two affairs I have recommended to you, cautiously; proceed leisurely, and as opportunities offer, without hazarding anything by too great precipitation. In a word, act with your usual prudence, respect, and address. I protest I shall esteem these two services more than if you had gained me a battle, or taken the city and castle of Milan with your cannon; for my heart suggests to me that this man and woman will one day do great mischief. I find in them designs above their condition, and absolutely contrary to their duty." I asked his majesty again, why he referred to me an affair, the success of which, in my hands, was so doubtful; whereas, if he would undertake it himself, it would cost him no more to execute it, than to pronounce to two women with a resolute tone, these few words, "I will have it so." His reply to this, and the debates that followed, were the same with those which the reader has already too often seen in these Memoirs. At last he went away, saying, as he embraced me, "Adieu, my friend; I earnestly recommend to you these two affairs, for they are very near my heart; but, above all, be secret."

All that, by my utmost endeavour, I was able to do for the

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tranquillity of this prince, was to procure him some short calms amidst the long and often-repeated storms he was obliged to suffer; in such an unequal vicissitude did he pass the few days that Heaven still left him. One of his longest intervals of quiet was during the queen's lying-in. She had followed the king, who went in the beginning of March to Fontainebleau. It was not possible to carry tenderness and solicitude further than Henry did. While she was in this condition, he often wrote to me from Fontainebleau, and in every letter gave me an account of the queen's health. "I thought," said he in one of these letters, "to have sent you the news of my wife's being brought to bed; but I believe it will not be this night." In another, "My wife imagines she will go to the end of the month, since she has passed yesterday." The queen was delivered of her third son* on the 26th of April.

The king still continuing to write to me as usual, in one of his letters ordered me to acquaint him how the news of his son's birth was received; "Not by you," said he, "for there I have no doubt; but by the public." I keep with great care the following letter, which his majesty sent me by the Duke of Rohan, upon hearing that my wife had lain-in of a son about the same time that the queen did. "I do not believe that any of my servants have taken greater interest in the birth of my son D'Anjou than you; and I would have you likewise believe that I surpass all your friends in joy for the birth of yours; you will be stunned with their flatteries; but the assurance I give you of my friendship, ought to be more convincing than all their speeches. Remember me to the lying-in lady."†

The queen was more indisposed after this lying-in than she had ever been before; but proper remedies being used, she was soon restored to perfect health. The king took all

* Gaston John-Baptist of France, then called Duke of Anjou, and afterwards Duke of Orleans: he died in 1660. Siri makes Henry IV. say, before the birth of this prince, that he would dedicate him to the Church, and that he should be called the Cardinal of France. (Ibid. 568.)

† "I should have been glad," says Henry IV., "if God had sent him a dozen sons; for it would be a great pity that from so good a stem there should be no shoots." (Mém. Hist. de France, ibid.)

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imaginable care of her. He came to Paris in the beginning of May, but returned almost immediately after to Fontainebleau; and the joy the queen showed at his return filled him with a real satisfaction. He allowed, at the request of this princess, that ten or twelve thousand crowns should be expended on buildings at Monceaux, and sent me orders for that purpose. It is from these letters of his majesty that I collect all these circumstances. This order he repeated when the master-builder, who had undertaken the work, informed him, that he had been obliged through want of money to dismiss his men. I had given him an assignment upon a restitution of money to be paid by the nephew of Argouges, which he had not yet done, pretending, to gain time, that he owed nothing. The king sent me orders to press him for the payment, and to advance the master-builder the money out of other funds, without referring him to Fresne, who could not be forced to pay it. Being apprehensive that I should give credit to the reports which were made me of the queen's being disgusted, and that she sought a pretence for quarrelling with me, he in another letter, for a proof to the contrary, related to me in what manner this princess had taken my part against M. and Madame de Ventadour, who had made some complaints of me to their majesties.

One could not give Henry a more sensible pleasure than by conforming one's self to that complaisance which he had for every one with whom he lived in any degree of friendship or familiarity. I received from him a gracious acknowledgment for some services rendered to Madame de Verneuil and Madame de Moret, and for the methods I made use of to free him from Mademoiselle des Essarts. This young lady began to be extremely troublesome to him; she had the presumption to expect she should have the same ascendant over him as his other mistresses. At last, however, she seemed willing to retire into the Abbey of Beaumont, and named certain conditions, upon which Zamet and La Varenne were often sent by Henry to confer with me. He gave himself the trouble to write to the president De Motteville, concerning the place of a *maître des comptes* at Rouen, which the young lady requested for one of her friends; and to Montauban, to advance the money for the purchase. There was a necessity likewise for giving her a thousand crowns, and

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five hundred to the Abbey of Beaumont, which she had chosen for her retreat.* Both these sums the king demanded of me, in a letter dated the 12th of May, happy, indeed, to get rid of her at so easy a rate!

He likewise desired my advice as to the manner in which he should behave to avoid a quarrel with the queen, on an occasion when Conchini became a competitor with Madame de Verneuil, for a favour which that lady had obtained a promise of two years before. "I love," said he in his letter, "Madame de Verneuil better than Conchini." Which, indeed, was not to be doubted; but at that time he was obliged to act with great circumspection towards the queen. This gave rise to an intrigue at court, that afforded great pleasure to several persons, which I cannot better explain than by the following letter the king wrote me from Fontainebleau:

"Although I have parted with Madame de Verneuil upon very bad terms, yet I cannot help having some curiosity to know, if there be any foundation for the report which prevails here, that the Prince of Joinville visits her; learn the truth of it, and give me notice in a letter, which I will burn, as you must do this. It is this, they say, that retains him so long: you know well it is not for want of money." The report was indeed true; Joinville had suffered himself to be captivated by the charms of the marchioness, who, as it was said, did not let him despair. For a long time, nothing was talked of but their intimacy, and the very passionate letters which it was pretended they wrote to each other; and it was at last confidently reported that he had offered to marry her: it must be observed, that all this I repeat after the court and Paris. Trifling as this affair may seem, there were in it some circumstances relating to the king of such consequence as to make a profound secrecy necessary. If matters had really gone so far between the two lovers as people were willing to believe, Madame de Verneuil, notwithstanding all her experience, was here the dupe; she was not sufficiently well acquainted with the disposition and conduct of a young man, still less amorous, than rash and heedless; promises, oaths, privacies, letters, all, in a very little time, ended in a rupture,

* She did not retire thither; or, at least, if she did, she did not stay long there.

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which was equally imputed to both. However, to say the truth, the fault lay with Madame de Villars,* who appeared too beautiful in the eyes of Joinville to leave his heart faithful to its first choice.

Madame de Villars did not at first appear so easy a conquest as her rival had been; proud of her alliance with the blood royal, she treated him with distance and reserve. Joinville, repulsed, and in despair, extorted from her a confession of the cause of her rigour. She told him, that after the correspondence he had, and still continued to carry on, with a lady so beautiful and witty as Madame de Verneuil, it would be dangerous to rely on his fidelity. Joinville defended himself; it is not necessary to say in what terms. She refused him, by alleging their interviews and letters; one in particular from Madame de Verneuil, more tender and passionate than the rest. On such an occasion, it is a custom to make to the beloved lady a sacrifice of her letters who was abandoned. Joinville resisted as long as he was able; but, at last, put into the hands of Madame de Villars that pretended letter (I say pretended, because it was far from being certain that this letter, which he was prevailed upon with so much difficulty to show, ever came from Madame de Verneuil); but be that as it will, for the use Madame de Villars intended to make of this letter, it was indifferent to her whether it was forged or not.

This woman had an inveterate hatred to the Marchioness of Verneuil; the moment she had the letter in her possession, she flew with it to the king. It was not difficult, with such a proof, to force belief; and she made such an artful use of it, that this prince, hitherto ignorant, or willing to seem so, of the greatest part of the intrigue, came instantly to me, with a heart filled with grief and rage, and related to me I know not how many circumstances, which to him appeared as certain proofs of her guilt, though I thought them far from being convincing. I told him, for it was necessary to treat this affair methodically, that he ought to hear what Madame de Verneuil could say for herself, before he condemned her. "Oh heavens! hear her!" cried Henry; "she

* Juliet Hyppolita d'Estrées, wife of George de Brancas, Marquis of Villars.

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has such power of expression, that if I listen to her, she will persuade me I am to blame, and that she is injured; yet I will speak to her, and show her these proofs of her perfidy." In effect, he went away breathing nothing but vengeance. Joinville's intrigues with the Governor of Franche-Comté seemed to him not half so criminal.

The Marchioness de Verneuil, long accustomed to these sort of transports, was not much alarmed; and maintained to the king, that Joinville had been wicked enough to forge this letter. Henry, softened by a circumstance which had not entered into his head before, became almost entirely satisfied, when she proposed to him to submit it to my judgment, whether the handwriting was hers or not, sensible that no collusion could be suspected between us; she not having an excess of confidence in me, nor I too much esteem for her. Accordingly the papers were put into my hands, and a day fixed for the decision of this cause, which was to be determined at the house of the marchioness. I went thither in the morning, and was introduced into her closet, where she waited both for her accuser and her judge, in an undress that expressed great negligence.

I had already begun to question her when Henry came in with Montbazan: I am not permitted to relate the rest; for the king would not suffer any of those who came with him to be present at this conference; however, they heard us talk very loud, and the marchioness weep. The king went from her apartment into another, and desiring all who were there to withdraw, took me to one of the most distant windows to examine the papers with him more exactly. This was not done so calmly, but those who were without might hear us discourse with great heat, and that I went often backwards and forwards, between the lady's closet and the place where the king stood. The conclusion of this scene was, that the king went away entirely satisfied with his mistress.* As for

* In the Mémoires de Bassompierre (vol. i. p. 92), I find the following account of this intrigue: "A few days afterwards happened the difference between Madame de Verneuil and the king, which had its origin from Madame de Villars having shown the king some letters which Madame de Verneuil had written to the Prince of Joinville, and which he had given her. The affair was accommodated by the Duke of Eguillon's bringing to the king a clerk of Bigot's, who confessed that

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Joinville, whatever part he had acted, it was happy for him that it was Henry with whom he had to do; and the more so as he engaged, almost immediately afterwards, in another intrigue of the same nature with Madame de Moret,* which I was not acquainted with.

The Count of Sommerive† was likewise hardy enough to become the rival of his master, and to make the Countess of Moret the object of his gallantries, with whom he began by a proposal of marriage; and it was believed that he had given her a promise in writing; for to a young man transported with passion the one costs as little as the other. The king, when he was informed of it, approved of the match, and employed La Borde, a gentleman whom he knew to be more

he had forged those letters; and the Prince of Joinville was banished." Our Memoirs mention this to have happened this year, but it was in the year 1603, upon the return of Henry IV. from his journey to Metz.

* The Memoirs for the History of France give this account of it: "The Prince of Joinville having paid his addresses to one of the king's favourites, who was one of those whom Tertullian calls *Publicarum libidinum victimæ*, she, to excuse herself, alleged the prince had given her a promise of marriage. He thereby incurred the king's displeasure, who commanded him either to banish himself or marry the lady. At first he put on the appearance of being willing to marry her, and to go on with what he had begun; but at last he declared that he had never any such intention; and said aloud, that, the king only excepted, if any gentleman, or any one of whatever quality, had given him such language, he would have set both his feet on his neck. The Count de Lude hearing of this, said it was the sentiment of a hangman. Madame de Guise, in tears, came and threw herself at the king's feet, and, as if she were in the extremest despair, begged of his majesty to kill her; to which the king answered, 'I have never killed any ladies, and I do not know how to go about it.' Those," adds he, "who were esteemed to be the most knowing at court, gave out it was the king himself who had induced the countess to do what she did." "I gave notice," says Bassompierre in his Memoirs (vol. i. p. 205), "to the Prince of Joinville, and Madame de Moret, of the design the king had to surprise them together. They were not found together, but the king discovered enough to forbid Mons. de Chevreuse (the name the Prince of Joinville then bore) the court; and would have done the same by her, had she not been on the point of being brought to bed: but time made up this difference." Henry gave orders to take the Prince of Joinville into custody; but he escaped out of the kingdom, and did not return till after the death of Henry IV., his family never having been able to prevail on the king to recal him. (Galanteries des Rois de France.)

† Charles Emanuel de Lorraine, second son of the Duke of Mayenne.

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faithfully devoted to him than any of those who resorted to the countess's house, to discover if they were sincere on both sides, and to take care to prevent the youth from transgressing the bounds of his duty. La Borde's report was not very favourable to the Count of Sommerive, who, at first, had some thoughts of murdering this troublesome Argus: and meeting him one day as he was coming from church he fell upon him so furiously, that La Borde, to save his life, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The king commanded me to examine into this fact, which, in his fury, he called an assassination. The time Sommerive had chosen for it, and the disrespect it showed for the king, rendered him still more guilty.

However, it being necessary to observe some caution, though it were only in consideration of La Borde (for the king was sensible that Sommerive was a far more dangerous person to deal with than Joinville), La Varenne came to me from his majesty, to consult upon proper measures for managing this affair, without wounding his own authority; and we agreed that the best expedient was to prevail upon the Duke of Mayenne himself to do the king justice, with regard to the offence his son had committed against him: I was charged with this message, and the conduct of it left wholly to my judgment. I found the Duke of Mayenne so ill with a fit of the gout, which was attended with a high fever, that there was no possibility of speaking to him, especially upon such a subject. The Duke of Eguillon,* Sommerive's eldest brother, told me, that this action of his brother was not more deeply resented by any person than by his own family; that it had been the cause of his father's illness; and wished himself dead, as well as this unworthy brother, rather than become the reproach of their relations. He added, that the king himself knew but too well how Sommerive treated them all, though, for the honour of the family, they concealed his behaviour from the public: that this last offence gave them inconceivable affliction. And after entreating me to assist him with my advice, he declared that he would go himself, if his majesty required it, to receive his orders, and would execute them, whatever they were, upon his own

* Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Eguillon, and afterwards of Mayenne.

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brother: and that, for himself, he would rather lose his life than fail in the oath he had taken, to obey his master with all the fidelity and zeal of a servant and subject.

To conceal from D'Eguillon that I had been commissioned by the king to come thither, I told him, that I would not advise him to go to his majesty, because I did not know whether he was yet informed of the affair; but that, in twenty-four hours, I would give him such advice as I thought most for his interest (for so long it required to send to Fontainebleau to know his majesty's intentions). I therefore contented myself, at present, with representing to him the atrociousness of Sommerive's crime, and the fatal consequences that might attend it. He exclaimed against it himself, with a sincerity which I thought it my duty to represent to his majesty, telling him, at the same time, that he had only to pronounce what satisfaction he required, the family fearing nothing so much as the loss of his favour.

Henry sent me notice by Villeroy that he was satisfied with what D'Eguillon had said to me, although he was convinced that all this rage against Sommerive would not hinder them from carrying it with a high hand in public, as they had already done upon other occasions of the same kind: he ordered me to make the whole house of Lorraine sensible how greatly they were indebted to his indulgence, in referring to them the chastisement of Sommerive; that he expected they would immediately oblige him to retire, though it were only to Soissons, as being unworthy to stay in a place where his majesty was; that D'Eguillon should come and tell him what resolution they had taken in the mean while, till he should himself name the punishment; offer to be security for Sommerive's appearance, and even to conduct him to the Bastille, if such were the king's pleasure; or make him leave the kingdom, and not return till after the expiration of two or three years. Henry insinuated that it was this last part he should take, although it required some consideration on account of Sommerive's intrigues with Spain. The king had been told that this young nobleman had endeavoured to prevail upon the Count of St. Paul to go with him to Holland, with an intention to enter into the service of the archdukes; that he had taken the advice of Du Terrail, and, as soon as the act was committed, had sent some of his ser-

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vants to Flanders. It was neither to that country, nor to any other dependent upon the Spaniards, which his majesty chose he should retire to; but towards Nancy, from whence he might pass to the emperor's court, or into Hungary, that country being most agreeable to his majesty.

To this letter of Villeroy's was added a short note, addressed to me, by the king, and containing only these few words: "I must tell you, that the best of the whole race is worth but little: God grant I may be mistaken." However, he was not displeased with D'Eguillon's behaviour, when he waited on him at Fontainebleau: his majesty only thought that he showed some little affectation in endeavouring to extenuate his brother's offence. The king told him, that it was his will Sommerive should retire to Lorraine, and not stir from thence without his permission. I was commissioned to notify this order to the Duke of Mayenne, his majesty being willing, at the entreaties of D'Eguillon, to spare him the ungrateful task.

D'Eguillon did not make a proper application of the lessons the king gave him in relation to his brother. No one was ignorant of the affection his majesty had for Balagny;* he had lately given a proof of it, by maintaining him in possession of the *greffes* of Bordeaux, of which the contractors endeavoured to deprive him. D'Eguillon had the imprudence to quarrel with him upon some affairs of mere gallantry, and the baseness, some time after, to attack him when he was almost alone, while himself was accompanied with a body of armed men. The prejudice Henry already entertained against this family increased the indignation he felt for this attempt. In the first emotions of his anger, he wrote to me, that being resolved to punish D'Eguillon for it, he earnestly entreated me to forget the friendship I had hitherto had for this family, since I ought to set a much higher value upon that of my king. This letter afforded me a proof of this prince's great knowledge of mankind: he predicted to me, that all the obligations I should confer on D'Eguillon would be forgotten, if,

* Damien de Montluc, Lord of Balagny, son of John, Prince of Cambray, and of Renée de Clermont de Bussy d'Amboise. He was at that time only twenty-five or twenty-six years old, and unmarried.

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through any change of my fortune, I should be incapable of adding to them: and this prediction has been fully accomplished.

However, I was then persuaded of the contrary, and listening only to what my friendship for the whole house of Lorraine suggested to me, the king's letter, which his courier, meeting me on my return from Sully, delivered to me at Montargis, did not hinder me from answering his majesty immediately, and that only to do the very thing he had forbidden me, which was the soliciting a pardon for D'Eguillon, without deferring it till I went to court, which I proposed to do immediately afterwards. My letter was of some use to D'Aguillon, when he presented himself to his majesty, to clear himself of the charge. This is what the king himself wrote to me, May 22nd: "Your letter came very seasonably; for he arrived this night, and talked to me in such a manner, that I was scarcely able to restrain my anger. Certainly this youth grows very insolent." I did not, however, abandon his interest. When I went to Fontainebleau, I found the king's resentment so violent, that there was a necessity for all the perseverance the warmest friendship is capable of, to vanquish it. I obtained, at length, that this affair should be left to me, to make it up in the best manner I could. I surmounted, with the same steadiness of friendship, many other difficulties, which were not inferior to this; and believed that all was forgotten on both sides, congratulating myself upon my success, when I heard in what manner D'Eguillon talked of this good office in public, and the gratitude he expressed to me for it.

Yet this man, without faith and without humanity, dishonoured himself and me, a short time afterwards, by completing the crime which I had so lately obtained his pardon for attempting, by causing Balagny to be assassinated. The letter his majesty wrote to me upon it will give the reader the truest notion of this crime. "My friend, you have doubtless heard of the wicked action committed upon Balagny: I would not write you an account of it, till I had obtained all the informations; for on such occasions the parties are not to be believed. Things are worse than you can imagine: he has violated the promise he made to you,

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and irreparably wounded his honour, by the extreme cowardice and cruelty of falling upon a single man with numbers. I had rather a son of mine were dead, than that he should be guilty of such an action. The bearer will tell you the particulars. The relations of both have attempted to fight; but I have taken care to prevent it. Adieu. I love you sincerely, and with this truth I conclude."

But Henry (for I felt too much horror at this indignity to dwell on it any longer) was himself in fact to blame, since it was through his easiness of temper, that the rage of duelling had spread through the court, the city, and over the whole kingdom;* and to such excess was it carried, that it gave me, and even his majesty himself, infinite fatigue and trouble, to compose differences, and to hinder, each day, the disputants from proceeding to the last extremities. Before the affair of Balagny happened, the Baron de Courtaumer came to tell me, that he was busy in reconciling his two nephews, the Prince of Conti and the Prince of Joinville. Montigny quarrelled, for no cause, with D'Epernon, whom I was ordered to pacify. "For you know," said Henry in his letter, "that he will always be the master." The forcible carrying away a young lady occasioned a duel between the families of La Force and Saint-Germain. Saint-Germain, the son, who was the ravisher, being sent for by the chancellor, in the king's name, left Paris, instead of obeying, and went to his father, which made his majesty apprehensive that he would divulge, amongst foreigners, some important orders which he could not be ignorant that he had given to La Force.

This easiness of temper in the king was the true cause of that licentiousness and sedition which had infected the court and the kingdom, and which his majesty so deeply lamented: the gentry had taken it from the nobility, and the nobility from the princes of the blood. The Count of Soissons publicly showed his discontent. The Prince of Condé, by indiscreet sallies, some indeed only worthy of laughter, and others of consequence enough to give great cause of uneasiness to

* Lomenie computed, in 1607, how many French gentlemen had been killed in duels since Henry IV. came to the crown. The number was found to be fully 4,000. (Mém. Hist. de France, ibid.)

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his majesty, almost exhausted his patience. It was believed that marriage would cure his impetuosity and wildness; and Mademoiselle de Montmorency* was the wife the king chose for him. It was this marriage that completed Henry's domestic troubles, as we shall see in the following year.

The difficulties that arose concerning the marriage of Mademoiselle de Mercœur increased the king's dislike of the whole house of Lorraine: she had been contracted to M. de Vendôme, in the year 1598, when the king took a journey to Brittany. The parties were now of an age to consummate the marriage; but the mother and grandmother of the young lady had taken care to inspire her with such an aversion for M. de Vendôme, that she would not suffer him to speak to her. The Prince of Condé, who was not then married, would have been a more agreeable match, in all their opinions; but, since that could not take place, the duchess was unwilling to let her daughter's large estates go out of the family. The king could not help thinking that the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne contributed to support this lady in her obstinate resistance to his will. I often combated this opinion, and represented to his majesty, that, on this occasion, he did not do them justice, which in the end he had reason to be convinced of, by the little opposition they made to his intentions, when they were declared to them by the Marquis d'Oraison, whom they had sent to his majesty.

The readiest and the surest way for Henry to accomplish this marriage, was to have assumed his authority, and given them an absolute command to fulfil the contract: but he† had less inclination to take such measures on this occasion than on any other. It only remained, then, either to endeavour, by gentleness and persuasion, to prevail upon the ladies, or to have recourse to the decision of the law, which must undoubtedly have been in his favour, were his majesty to be

* Margaret Charlotte of Montmorency.

† Henry, in his anger, threatened the Duchess of Mercœur to make her pay two hundred thousand crowns for damages, besides the penalty of a hundred thousand for breach of covenant. The duchess, on her part, caused the king to be told that he might not only take the hundred thousand crowns, but all her estates besides, if he were entitled to them. Her daughter retired to a nunnery of Capuchins, with intent to take the veil. (Mém. Hist. de France, ibid.)

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treated with the same impartiality as any private man: but this was to protract the business, by the delays and tricks of the courts of justice. It would take up a considerable time to bring up only the letters of attorney from Lorraine, without which the proceedings could not be begun; and it would be two months before the affair could be terminated, although his majesty should interpose his authority, to oblige them to dispense with the accustomed formalities in his favour. However, gentle methods were far more eligible, since not only the union of two persons, but that of several families, were concerned in it. There still remained many resources for a young woman forced from her relations, and obliged to marry, in spite of herself, to regain her liberty, although all the ceremonies were performed that should seem to have deprived her of it, especially if she could not be prevented from privately receiving bad counsels. For these reasons, therefore, I advised his majesty to try gentle methods, in the long letter I sent him in answer to his.

For this purpose many conferences were held at the houses of the two duchesses,—at that of the Duchess of Guise, aunt to the young lady, and at the Princess of Conti's; during which time M. de Vendôme was kept at a distance, his majesty having sent him, under the conduct of La Vallée, into Brittany. As for me, I thought no person better qualified to manage this negotiation than Father Cotton. I advised the king to employ him; and he succeeded so well, that at the time when the king was most fully persuaded he should never terminate this affair but by the ordinary course of law, and had already written to the first president on the subject, this father, on a sudden, gave him hopes that it would be concluded by other means. The art of directing consciences, in which he excelled, gained him immediately the first point, and not the least essential. They began to cease their invectives, which only nourished hatred and disgust. Father Cotton did not fail to go as often as he could to the king, to give him an account of the progress he had made; and his majesty, from time to time, sent him to the chancellor and me to take our advice, and was highly pleased with the service he did him upon this occasion.

The mother and the daughter were the first who were prevailed upon; but not without the duchess giving such free

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scope to her resentment against the king, her relations, and every other person, that Henry believed he should never find a favourable moment to obtain her consent, but exhorted me if such a one ever offered, not to let it escape. The grandmother and some other confidants of the duchess, as La Porte the confessor, continued a long time obstinate; but, at length, all were appeased, and the marriage was celebrated.* The king was not quite freed from his suspicion that the Guises and all the princes of the house of Lorraine sought in reality to deceive him, under an appearance of the greatest respect and deference; for which reason, when the post of first president of the chamber of accounts in Provence became vacant by the death of Beauville, and the Duke of Guise solicited it for one of his friends, as likewise the Countess of Sault for one of hers, he denied them both. "They have both been supporters of the League," said he; and this was all the reason he gave me for it when he wrote to me to consult with the chancellor about filling up this place with one more fit for it.

Not all the arguments I used to the king could prevent him from giving, if I may use the expression, a right to every one to disturb his quiet, by continually bringing him informations against the most illustrious persons in the kingdom, as well Catholics as Protestants. Sometimes he was told that the Duke of Bouillon, Du Plessis, and other heads of the Reformed religion, were levying troops; sometimes, that it was agreed upon between them, the prince, the count, and even all those that had been the greatest supporters of the League against them, to take possession of several towns. Another time, it was said that the Duke of Roannais held assemblies in Anjou, which Pont-Courlay wrote also to me: but nothing so much alarmed his majesty as the advice he received from a gentleman of Poitou, for this province was always made the seat of rebellion. This man said that he had been present at assemblies of a great number of gentlemen, who acted in the names of almost all the grandees of the kingdom, besides the Protestants, in which he was a

* The 7th of July in the year following. "The nuptials," say the Mémoires de l'Hist. de France, "were splendid and magnificent; the king shone all over with jewels of inestimable value; he ran at the ring, and seldom failed of carrying off the prize."

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witness that they had fixed upon a day for seizing a great number of towns, which he named, and had delivered or money for the making provision of scaling-ladders, petard arms, and ammunition necessary for the enterprise.

The king was at Fontainebleau, without any train, an only with a design to make some parties for hunting, whe this informer was presented to him; he sent him back t Paris, with orders to wait on Sillery and Villeroy, to whom he delivered such exact memorials, that the king was n longer in doubt of the truth of his report, and, full of appre hensions, returned instantly to Paris through Melun, and en tered the city at the gate St. Antoine. He sent Saint-Michae immediately for me, having matters, he said, of the utmost consequence to communicate to me. My wife and children being then in the city with all the coaches belonging to me I was obliged to wait till one was sent me by Phelipeaux.

I found the king shut up in the queen's little closet; wit him were her majesty, the chancellor, and Villeroy, busy in examining those papers which had heated the lively imagina tion of Henry. "Well, Monsieur Obstinacy," said he t me, as I entered, "here is the war begun." "So much the better, Sire," said I; "for it can be only against the Spaniards." "No, no," answered he; "it is against much nearer neighbours, supported by all your Huguenots." "All the Huguenots!" I returned; "ah, Sire, what makes you imagine so? I will answer for many, that they do not entertain the least notion of it, and I am ready to answer for almost all the rest, that they dare not." "Did I not tell you, my dear," said his majesty, turning to the queen, "that he would not believe this? According to him, no one dare give me the least offence, and it depends only upon myself to give law to all the world." "It is true, Sire," I replied, "and so you may whenever you please."

Villeroy and Sillery attempted to support his majesty's opinion that this was a most dangerous conspiracy. I repre sented to them that it was great weakness to suffer them selves to be intimidated thus by mere trifles. I took the paper out of their hands, and could not help smiling when I found that of this formidable body of rebels, only ten or a dozen poor inconsiderable gentlemen and soldiers were men tioned, whose persons I knew, being in reality in my govern-

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ment; and five or six villages, as La Haye in Touraine, St. Jean d'Angély, La Rocheposai, St. Savin, and Chauvigny-le-Blanc in Berry. "*Pardieu!* Sire," resumed I, with some emotion, "these gentlemen mean to jest both with your majesty and me, by making these idle reports of consequence enough to affect you with any apprehensions, and inducing you to take measures to prevent what will never happen. The whole mystery is this: one of your subjects has an inclination to get a hundred crowns from you."

"Notwithstanding all you can say," replied the king, "I am convinced that there is a necessity for my going thither, or else that you should set out in two days, and give proper orders there for keeping everything quiet." "If you would consent, Sire," replied I, after listening patiently to a long detail he made me of the artillery, ammunition, and other warlike stores necessary for this expedition, "to let me manage it my own way, I will engage to bring this affair to a conclusion, without much trouble or expense." "*Pardieu!*" said Henry, "you are the most obstinate man I ever saw; well, what would you say?" "Sire," answered I, "I only desire you will give me Moret the prevôt, and twenty archers, and I will bring you a good account of these rebels." "You shall have it so," said Henry, vanquished by my perseverance; "but if any accident should happen, you will have all the blame." However, the king's fears were wholly groundless. My whole army consisted of twenty horse, with which I seized all those persons who had been accused, very few of whom were punished, his majesty finding most of them innocent, and that the others were not worth troubling himself about.

The assembly of Protestants, which it was necessary should be held this year for appointing the two deputies-general, seemed to the king to merit still more attention, on account of the present situation of affairs. He ordered me to assist at it for the third time; and that I might do so with the greater convenience, the assembly was summoned to meet at Gergeau, of which I was governor, and where I could direct everything from my estate of Sully, which extended to the gates of that city. I shall be silent as to the article of my instructions. On the 3rd of October, when I wrote for the first time to Villeroy, the assembly had not yet taken any

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form, although the members had met some days before; for they still expected some of the provincial deputies. When I found that by one single word I had put all the disaffected to silence, I took upon myself to be answerable to his majesty that nothing would be done in it contrary to his will; which, however, he could not be persuaded to believe. All the letters I received from him and Villeroy were filled with complaints of the Protestants. "Send back my courier immediately," said the king in one of his letters, "there are people at Gergeau with whom there is no dealing. They have treated you like a Catholic; I knew they would do so, and four days ago I saw a letter from Saumur which prescribed the manner."

It is certain that there was, at first, some tumult in the assembly, particularly on account of his majesty having sent two Catholic governors into the cities of Montendre and Tartas, which they alleged had been yielded to them by the king. They supported their demands by the tenour of the edicts, and complained that Caumont had been taken from them in the same manner. Chambaut, du Bourg, and Dr Ferrier were sent by the assembly to me at Sully, with messages full of submission to his majesty, to whom they had likewise resolved to depute two or three of their body upon the same subject. As I knew his majesty would not receive this deputation favourably, I endeavoured to dissuade them from that design. I represented to them that I had no commission from the king to treat upon this article, but that I would write about it to him. I excused myself from having anything to do with regard to Moncenis, a place upon which they had the same pretensions as upon the two former, because it belonged to the count.

I wrote to Villeroy what the assembly had proposed, charging him to represent to the king that if he was willing this affair should not be protracted, it would be necessary to satisfy such of their demands as were just, or promise, at least, to do so, when he should return an answer to them: to which his majesty consented. This article being despatched, which was one of the eight proposed by the assembly, I told them, that, of those that remained, five were to be brought before the council, as falling under the cognizance of that tribunal, and that they ought now to settle the prin-

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cipal affair, which was the appointment of the two deputies. His majesty notified his intentions to them on this subject, which were conformable to what he had declared to them before, as has been seen when I treated of the general assembly held at Châtellerault; and this affair was likewise concluded to the entire satisfaction of both parties, by means of a proposal I made to the king to appoint Villarnou to be deputy for the nobility, and Mirande for those of the second order. The former would have been chosen the preceding year, if he had not been proposed in a manner contrary to the form prescribed by the king. He went immediately to receive his orders, bearing a letter from me to the king, who summed up to him, in a few words, the duties of his office, and seemed very well satisfied with his choice.

The assembly, after this, continued no longer than was necessary to receive the brevet of the deputies' acceptation, and all was over before the 1st of November. His majesty, in every letter he wrote me, recommended to me, in particular, to be speedy in settling this business, to return to him as soon as possible, and always concluded with his usual expressions of kindness. The last courier that I despatched to him found him at the Arsenal, from whence, as Villeroy informed me in his letter, he returned at seven in the evening, making him write to me at eight, not being willing to do it himself, for fear of detaining the courier too long.

When I returned, I gave his majesty a more exact account than I had done in my letters, of all that had passed at Gergeau, and of the pacific dispositions in which I had found a great number of the best and most considerable persons of the Protestant body. His majesty was then at Fontainebleau, where he stayed as long this year as any of the former ones: he had returned thither the middle of May, after that short journey to Paris which I have mentioned, and stayed there all June and July; in August he went back to Paris, from whence he went to St. Germain, and afterwards to Monceaux, where he stayed fifteen days; and, passing, through Fontainebleau, came to Paris the beginning of October, while I was still at Gergeau; in the middle of October he went again to Fontainebleau, where he stayed all the remainder of that month, and part of November, and then returned to despatch his affairs. I have already observed,

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that this manner of living was only fatiguing to himself, and a few of his principal ministers.

He was not this year afflicted with any dangerous distemper. In a letter he wrote to me from Fontainebleau, dated June 2nd, he says, "I have had a fever, which has lasted two days and a night, but it only proceeds from a cold, which, by the help of God, I hope will not have any bad consequences. I am resolved to take more care of my health than I have done hitherto: this you may depend upon, as also upon the assurance I gave you of my affection for you." Yet he still continued the fatigue of the chase. From St. Germain he wrote to me, that he had taken a stag in an hour: that he went afterwards to bed, where he lay another hour, and then went to walk in his gardens, and to visit his manufacturers. Henry, while this cold in his head continued, wet eight or ten handkerchiefs in a day: he had, at the same time, a defluxion in his ears and throat, which was very troublesome to him; and afterwards preparing himself, by purges, to drink the waters of Spa, he was seized with a looseness, from which he suffered violent pains for two days, and which left a weakness upon him for a considerable time afterwards. This was a disorder that prevailed not only over all that district (from whence his majesty wrote to me, that he had with him the good man Villeroy, and about a hundred gentlemen of his court, who were afflicted with it), but likewise in Paris, and all the neighbouring parts.

Almost all the children of his majesty were sick during the month of May. In his letter to me, in which he sent me an account of it, his paternal tenderness made him notice the smallest circumstances relating to the state of their health, none of which, indeed, were indifferent to me. In his letter he sent me from Fontainebleau, dated May the 16th, he says, "I am in great affliction, having all my children ill here; my daughter De Verneuil has got the measles; my son the Dauphin vomited twice yesterday: he has a slight fever, attended with a drowsiness, and a sore-throat; from these symptoms, the physicians think he likewise will have the measles. Last night, my daughter began to have a little fever; my son D'Orleans has a continued one; but it is more violent one day than another." This prince's illness was

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most dangerous, and lasted longer than any of the others. "Judge," continued he, "whether, with all this, I must not suffer great uneasiness. I will every day give you an account of my children's health." Happily, they all recovered. "Whatever it shall please God to do with them," said this prince to me, "I will submit patiently to His will; all the dispensations of His providence are good." He inquired, with his usual goodness, how my son did, who, he had been told, had the small-pox. He chose Noisy for the place of his children's residence during the summer, and would not suffer them to be removed to St. Germain till November, at which time he sent me orders, as usual, to have them carried thither, with Madame de Montglat, in the coaches and litters of Queen Margaret; ordering me to tell Madame de Verneuil to send hers thither likewise, the small-pox then raging at Paris.

The son of this lady, who was called the Marquis of Verneuil,* was, by the king his father, designed for the Church; and the bishopric of Metz becoming vacant, he had some thoughts of giving it him; but the procuring this prince to be nominated, the illegitimacy of his birth, and his youth, for he was yet but a child, were three obstacles to his advancement to this see. It was in the power of the Chapter of Metz to remove the first, by admitting the young prince as a candidate; or, if that was too difficult to be granted, to appoint the Cardinal of Guise either to be bishop or administrator, because from his hands it might afterwards easily pass into those of the young De Verneuil. This chapter having both a right to choose themselves a bishop in case of a vacancy by resignation or death, and of giving the administration of the revenues of the bishopric to any person they pleased, there was no necessity for using many persuasions

* Henry of Bourbon, marquis, or according to others, Duke of Verneuil, afterwards Bishop of Metz. If Paul V. showed himself so difficult on account of the bishopric of Metz, Innocent X. showed himself much more so: for he positively refused to give the purple to this prince. He enjoyed more than four hundred thousand livres a year in benefices, when he gave them all up, in 1668, to marry Charlotte Seguier, widow of Maximilian Francis, third Duke of Sully. He died in 1682.

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with them; for, as soon as they perceived that it would please the king to have his son appointed, he was admitted and chosen unanimously.

But it was the pope alone who could grant the necessary dispensation on the other two articles, the birth and age of the young prince. His majesty, to prevail upon him to grant this favour, sent the Duke of Nevers to Rome.* Valerio, the courier from Rome, was received in a most obliging manner at Paris, and retained there till the end of March. The Marchioness de Verneuil neglected nothing to secure the success of this affair. However, all that could be obtained from the pope, was a dispensation for the birth. He refused the second request, as being absolutely contrary to the canons and discipline of the Church; but, by force of entreaties and solicitations, they drew from him, at length, that kind of approbation which, in the Roman style, is called expectative, and that the young prince might bear, at present, the title of Bishop of Metz. Valerio brought the news to Fontainebleau the latter end of April, and, by the king's command, I acquainted Madame de Verneuil with it immediately.

The little complaisance which Paul V. showed his majesty on this occasion was well repaid by him, when, at that pontiff's request, the cardinals and prelates of France renewed their solicitations to Henry, that the decrees of the Council of Trent might be published in the kingdom: the king, without suffering himself to be moved by their repeated attempts on this head, replied, that since they could not get this council approved by Francis I., Henry II., and Charles IX., although they had not the same obligations to the Protestants as he had, nor had granted them such favourable edicts as he had done, they must not expect that he would ever give his consent to it. He showed them the mischief such a grant was capable of doing in the kingdom, and declared, that he had no inclination to establish the Inquisition in France; and that he thought it very surprising, for he was aware of that objection, that such a strange clause should be made one of the conditions of his absolution. All there-

* The Memoirs of those times take notice of the magnificent entry and reception of the duke at Rome.

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fore that they could obtain from his majesty was, that the mass should be permitted in Béarn.*

This year the Roman college lost the Cardinals de Lorraine and Baronius. The Duke of Florence and the famous Scaliger died also about the same time: and, in France, the Chancellor de Bellièvre, Father Ange de Joyeuse, and Miron.†

* The exercise of the Catholic religion had been re-established in Béarn, ever since the time of the Edict of Nantes. There is therefore a mistake here in these Memoirs; and, instead of the *mass*, it should be read the *Jesuits*; those fathers being established there this year by the king's edict of the 16th of February. They were obliged for this to the solicitations of the Bishop of Olleron. (Nic. Rigault, b. i. Merc. Fr. 1608, &c.)

† Francis Miron, master of requests, superintendent of the government of the Isle of France, president of the great council, provost of Paris, and lieutenant-civil within the provostship thereof, &c., died in the month of June, this year, extremely regretted, on account of his probity, and other good qualities. His party esteemed him so much for the steadiness with which he had opposed the superintendent on occasion of the order of council which had been made the year before for the suppression of the annuities of the Hotel de Ville, and of the bold remonstrances he made to the king on that behalf, that they got together in a body, and came in a seditious manner to defend his house against the threats of the council. Pèrefixe, from whom I take this fact, agrees that the inquiry into the case of the annuitants was in itself most just, and yet blames the authors of it, "Because," says he, "the greatest part of those annuities having passed through several hands, or been divided, many families must be put to great trouble by it. Miron," adds he, "earnestly requested the citizens to retire, and not to make him criminal, assuring them they had nothing to fear; that they had to do with a king as great as wise, as gentle as equitable; and who would not suffer himself to be influenced by the advice of evil counsellors." For my part I do not so much admire this gentleman (who, notwithstanding his probity, suffered himself to be so far transported with passion, as to make some odious comparisons. "Not indeed," says the same writer, "with the king's person, but with some of his council"), as I do the king himself, who resisting the persuasion of those who would have prevailed on him to seize him by force, and severely punish his boldness, "graciously received," continues M. de Pèrefixe, "the excuses and most humble submissions of Miron; and, besides, forbid the prosecution of the inquiry into the annuities, which had made so much noise." I am surprised no notice is taken of any part of this transaction in these Memoirs. But another action which does real honour to M. de Sully (taken out of the Mémoires pour l'Hist. de France) was, his soliciting Henry IV. on behalf of the president Miron, brother of the deceased, who had resigned the office of lieutenant-civil

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Some new embellishments were made at Fontainebleau and Monceaux. The bridge Marchand* was built at Paris, in place of that called the Pont-aux-Meûniers. I gave the king a design for La Place Dauphine, by which, leaving the fund to be managed by the undertaker for his own advantage, it might be finished in three years. It was offered to the first president, and to the parliament. I also drew a plan for the bridge of Rouen, which my son presented to his majesty, for I was then upon the spot. Henry thought nothing could be better contrived for the convenience of the ground. The bridge of Mantes was finished this year. In Bourbonnais I deposited several pieces of artillery, which procured me the thanks of that province by Saint-Géran.

These works of necessity, or of public utility, might have been carried much further, if the king had been willing to follow the advice I gave him, to sacrifice some of his private expenses to such laudable undertakings. The money he lost at play only would have answered those purposes. I was

to him, and afterwards of his son. The king saying to him, "I am surprised you should desire my favour for persons whom you formerly so much hated." "And, Sire," replied Sully, "I am more surprised to find you hate people you formerly so much loved, and who love you, and have done you good service." The queen, at the recommendation of Conchini, procured this office for Nicholas Le Geai, the king's attorney of the Châtelet.

* "So called after the name of Charles le Marchand, captain of the arquebusiers and archers of Paris, who undertook, with the king's permission, to build the said bridge at his own costs and expenses, on certain conditions which were granted to him, and amongst others that it should bear his name." (Journal de L'Etoile, ibid.) This bridge, which formerly was called Pont-aux-Colombes (the Pigeon bridge), because pigeons were sold on it, had afterwards the name of Pont-aux-Meûniers (the Millers bridge), because there was a mill under every arch. It had been broken down ever since the year 1596, by a flood, on the 22nd of December, between five and six o'clock in the evening, crushing under its ruins upwards of five hundred persons, who were for the most part, as it was said, of the number of those who had enriched themselves at the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and it had, ever since, continued unrepaired. It was begun this year, and finished the next. It took fire twelve years after, being of wood, and was burnt down, together with another bridge, called Pont-au-Change, which was rebuilt with stone in 1639; and the two bridges were united in one, which, at present, is called Pont-au-Change. (See the authors of the Antiquities and Descriptions of Paris.)

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ordered to pay Edward Fernandez,* a Portuguese, at one time, thirty-four thousand pistoles, which he had lost to him. This order is dated August 27th. He often sent me others for two or three thousand pistoles,† and many more for sums less considerable. However, it must be confessed, that this passion for play never hindered him from agreeing to every proposal in which the public good was concerned.

A dreadful devastation was made by the Loire, in the month of October.‡ In my journey from D'Olivet to Or-

* This Edward Fernandez is taken notice of in the Memoirs of Bassompierre, as being a rich Portuguese banker, who lent money to the courtiers for play, on pledges, and at large interest.

† "I do not know," says M. de Pèrefixe, "what answer to make to those who charge him with being fonder of cards and dice than was becoming a great king; and that besides he played ill, being eager to win, timorous when large sums were depending, and out of temper when he lost." It requires no answer, I should tell this writer; for it must be owned that it is a blot in the life of this great prince. How can one justify a passion for play, when pushed to the degree it was by Henry IV.? What can be more pernicious in the master of a whole nation? What example can be worse? What can have a stronger tendency to the subversion of order, and the corruption of manners? We find, on this subject, in the Memoirs for the History of France, a story as pleasant as it is pleasantly told. "M. de Créquy, afterwards Duke of Lesdiguières and Marshal of France, lost so much money, that one day, coming from the king, in a manner out of his senses, he met M. de Guise, who was going to the castle, to whom he said, 'Friend, friend, where are the guards placed to-day?' On which M. de Guise, stepping back two or three paces, 'Excuse me, sir,' says he, 'I am not of this country;' and immediately went to the king, who laughed heartily at the story." The Marshal de Bassompierre says, that Pimentel, the foreigner mentioned in the beginning of this book, "won upwards of two hundred thousand crowns, which he carried off; and came back to France the following year, when he made another good harvest." It is reported that the stratagem he made use of to win so much, was to get into his hands all the dice which were in the shops at Paris, and substituting false dice, which he had got made, in the place of them. But what some people have said, of Henry IV. being informed of the cheat, and countenancing it with design to impoverish his courtiers, and thereby to make them more submissive to him, ought to be looked upon as a mere stroke of satire. The Duke of Epernon lost considerable sums and all his jewels. The Duke of Biron also lost, in one year, more than five hundred thousand crowns.

‡ This devastation lasted twenty-four hours, and came in an instant. Had not the banks broke down, the city of Tours must have been laid under water, and Blois ran a great risk. M. de Sully, who was then at Sully, with great difficulty saved himself: both he and his whole

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leans, I expected to have been involved in it. This whole passage was one continued sea, in which the boats swam over the tops of the trees and houses the water had yet left standing. However, no accident happened to myself; but the boat which carried me stuck in its return, and fell in two pieces, but fortunately all the passengers saved themselves by swimming. The desolation was extreme, and the damage infinite. In the petitions of the injured towns and villages, not only a total discharge of the *taille* was demanded, but likewise a speedy and effectual succour, at least for their most urgent necessities, without which most part of the lands must remain untilled, and the houses be deserted. "God," said Henry, in his answer to a letter I wrote to him upon this terrible accident, "has given me subjects, that I may preserve them as my children. Let them meet with tenderness and charity from my council. Alms are always highly acceptable to God; and in cases of public misery more especially so. It would lie heavy on my conscience, if I neglected to do everything I can for their relief." I seconded, with all my power, the king's pious intentions.

In the same letter I obtained three little gratuities for different persons: the profits of a mill, at the gates of Paris, for one; the remainder of some trees, that had been cut

duchy were in great danger. (Mem. Hist. de France, ib.) According to Le Mercure François, this misfortune happened twice in this year in the Loire; once towards the end of winter, after a frost; the second time, in the beginning of summer, by the sudden melting of the snow on the mountains of Velai and Auvergne: it places none of those floods in the month of October, in which the author is mistaken. "The loss," says he, "of men, women, and children, cattle, castles, mills, houses, and all sorts of goods, was inestimable. There was not a bridge on this river, which has a course of more than five hundred leagues, which had not some of its arches broken down. The force of the water made breaches in all the banks. The low grounds were covered with it quite to the skirts of the hills; the lands, which are very fruitful there, were for a long time overflowed, there being no vent for the water to run off, and became quite barren, being covered with sand and stones, which the water had brought from Auvergne." This year was called the year of the hard winter, that season being unusually severe. "Henry IV. said his beard froze in bed with the queen by him." He had some frozen bread given him on the 23rd of January, which he would not suffer to be thawed. (Matth. vol. ii. book iii. p. 771.)

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down for another, and the timber, which had served to repair the stone bridge at Mantes, for the third.

The merit and learning of Messieurs Fenouillet and D'Abeins, so well known throughout the whole kingdom, encouraged me to request, for the first, the reversion of the bishopric of Poictiers; and for the second, the first bishopric which should become vacant, both which were promised me. I set out immediately after for Sully; but I had scarcely left his majesty, when news was brought him of the death of the Bishop of Montpelier, which he instantly sent to inform me of. I was of opinion that I should make some alteration in the favour I had obtained of the king. I therefore wrote to him, that Montpelier being full of Protestants, it seemed to me to require, that a man as eloquent as the Abbé Fenouillet should be made bishop of it; and that the mild and moderate disposition of the Abbé D'Abeins rendered him absolutely fit for the bishopric of Poictiers, that province having many hot and violent spirits in it that required tempering. Henry read my letter to the courtiers about him, and, smiling, asked them whether the Catholics could have made a better disposition ?* Fervaques was so dangerously ill, that I advised his majesty to think of disposing of the very considerable posts he held in Normandy. But he soon destroyed our opinion of his danger, by writing, some days afterwards, that, if a commission was sent him to hold the States of that province, he found himself able to preside at the assembly.

The treaty of 1564, between France and Lorraine, daily experienced some new difficulties relating to the limits of the country of Messin, which determined the king to send commissioners to the spot. These were chosen by the Chancellor and myself, out of the council and elsewhere. Another

* Pèrefixe relates this fact something differently: "The bishopric of Poictiers becoming vacant, Rosny earnestly recommended one Fenouillet to the king, who was esteemed a man of learning and a good preacher. The king, notwithstanding this recommendation, gave it to the Abbot of La Rocheposai, who also possessed many good qualities; and, besides, was the son of a father who had served equally well with his sword in the wars, and with his genius in embassies. Some time after, the bishopric of Montpelier became vacant, on which the king, of his own motion, sent for Fenouillet, and gave it to him; but on condition that he should take it as an obligation to him alone." (Ibid. p. 312.)

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work, no less useful, and much more considerable, was to order a report to be given in, upon exact surveys, of all the encroachments made by our neighbours on different parts of the frontiers, and especially upon the confines of Champagne, with Franche-Comté and Lorraine. Châtillon, the engineer, to whom I committed this task, executed it with the utmost exactness. He made it clear that the King of Spain and the Duke of Lorraine had unjustly appropriated to themselves a great number of fiefs, and even whole villages, as the village of Pierre-Court, the town of Passeran, the lordship of Commercy, and many others, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here.*

This work was but a small part of what, by his majesty's orders, I had undertaken. The most exact plans of all the coasts and frontiers of France were to be drawn. The Duke of Mayenne and the inhabitants of Antibes having put to sale the lands they had in the neighbourhood of that city, the king was desirous of purchasing them, which, when known, was sufficient to make them set such a price upon those lands as disgusted his majesty, who ordered them to be told that they might sell their land to whomsoever they pleased, but that he would put a governor into Antibes who might probably make them repent of their injustice to himself.

Let us now come to the finances. There was a new regulation made, directed to the treasurers of the exchequer, of the private expenses of the posts, of the Swiss League, of the ordnance, of the extraordinary of the wars, and the extraordinary on this side the mountains, and the rest, which prescribed them a still more exact method for giving in their accounts, and placed them in the lowest dependance on their superintendent, without a precept from whom they had scarcely the power of doing anything. This regulation† was extended, likewise, even to the registrars and the secretary of the council. I placed in the same subjection those who acted under me in every other business: I obliged Lichani, under whose direction the streets of Paris were paving, to come every Wednesday and Saturday noon, to give me an account of the payment and employment of his workmen.

* They may be seen in the old Memoirs of Sully, vol. v. p. 222.

† See this regulation in the old Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 194.

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By a circular letter sent to all the managers of the finances, I forbade them to place any longer in their accounts such articles as had been once rejected or reduced by the council, leaving no means to recover them but that of petition; and that they might not plead want of rules, I sent them forms drawn up with clearness and exactness. They were obliged even to quote the date and the signatures of the patents and edicts of council that were there mentioned. The regulation of the fees of the chamber of accounts, and another, concerning the money embezzled by the treasurers of France and the receivers-general, were joined to the former. This new scheme brought the king, at present, a hundred thousand crowns profit, which would be doubled when it came to be perfectly observed. The chamber of accounts did not part with its fees without a great deal of trouble, even when it was made to appear upon how false a supposition they had been established. I was obliged even to get a formal order from his majesty to obtain from them a delivery of the registers, for which I had occasion. I had a great deal of trouble with the procureur-general and the presidents of that chamber, to make them verify an edict with respect to those who paid their rents, and for the extinction of forty-eight thousand livres of rents settled by composition.

I declared to the sovereign courts and the office of finances of Languedoc, the resolution of the king upon several questions which they had sent to me, respecting rights of presence, feudal or seignorial rights, supplement of the crown-lands, new purchases, the crown-lands of Navarre, rights of *traite* * *foraine et domaniale*, payments upon cloths, and particularly the *taille réelle*, upon which the council determined unanimously, that, the prince, the officers of the crown, and the king himself being obliged to pay it, for the lands which they possessed in that province, it must be paid by every one else, both cities and communities. I ordered Maussac to carry letters concerning all this to the parliament of Toulouse, the treasurers of France, and the farmers of the *gabelles*. I directed the edict for the re-purchase of the registers to M. de Verdun, first president of that parliament, that he might see it registered, which he did without

* Certain duties levied on goods exported and imported.

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any difficulty or subterfuge. He wrote, at the same time that he had proceeded to make a compensation to the registrars of the several courts, and assured me of the exact submission of the parliament to the king's will. To this he added some personal acknowledgments, and thanked me among other things, for having sent such a commissioner as Colange, a good-natured man, and of engaging manners.

I do my best to suppress all particularities, which must naturally be tedious; and shall therefore say nothing of the letters which I wrote to the procureur-general of Dauphiny, to the Sieur Marion, and to the treasurers of Burgundy upon the re-purchase of the domain, upon the late regulations, and upon every other subject.*

When I saw the year drawing to an end, I wrote to the king at Fontainebleau, that his presence was necessary for a general view of the finances; that I wanted his orders for a thousand things, such as his garrisons, his troops, the galleys, the officers of the dauphin's household, and of the children of France; that by his absence many other affairs were left unsettled, which, by those who had them in charge were considered as merely of my invention, and indifferent to him. I shall honestly confess that I have always endeavoured to join his majesty with his ministers in the management of business; because, in reality, the best regulations come to nothing, unless it plainly appear that neglect will be punished by the displeasure of the prince.

The brevet of the *taille* had never been made in a manner so solemn as it was now, for the year 1609. His majesty came on the 16th of August, and took his seat in the council attended by several princes, dukes, peers, and officers of the crown, and an edict of the council was passed in his presence, by which it is said, that the king having examined the calculations of receipts and expenses for the present year, and heard the reports of his council and the superintendent of his finances, was very desirous to show his regard to the remonstrances which they had made him, by discharging his people from part of the *taille;* but that the debts contracted by his predecessors, and the disorder in which he found the finances, obliged him to increase instead of diminishing it; but that,

* All the letters in the old Memoirs of Sully of this year (1608) may be consulted on this subject. (Vol. iii.)

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however, he was contented to impose, for the next year, only the same sum as for the year past, with the augmentation of only twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty livres, ten sols, and seven deniers, which were to arise by an appropriation of the same sum, which the commissioners had always charged upon the parishes for some petty expenses of each province, which charge was from henceforth suppressed.

I shall give an account, with some satisfaction, of a memorial which I presented to the king, concerning the *taille*, because, by the particularities and reflections contained in it, it may pass for an epitome of the history of the *taille* in France.

It is certain that no state whatever subject to the government of many, or of one, can be without paying taxes; for though we should suppose it content with the power which it now has, without endeavouring after more, it is, however, impossible but that, from time to time, it must have outrages to revenge, and rebels to repress. Innumerable necessities, rising within itself, must be indispensably supplied by regular expenses, which, however, must be sometimes greater, sometimes less. These expenses, as well ordinary as extraordinary, were in this kingdom for a long time raised upon the lands belonging to the king, or to the crown, by taxes, under the name of voluntary assistance, laid on and allotted by a general determination of all the orders of the kingdom, which are called the States. They were, however, almost nothing to the immense sums to which we have seen them rise since, because in those times they confined themselves to things barely necessary, as well in as out of the kingdom. It is a remark, which I know not whether any man has made, that of all our kings of the third race down to Charles VIII., not one appears to have engaged in distant conquests, or even to have made a formal declaration of war against any neighbouring prince.* With this spirit of moderation and frugality they never found themselves in want; but were able to discharge all expenses without mortgaging, or alienating their lands; and were, therefore, in reality, notwithstanding that appearance of poverty, much richer than their successors

* This is wrong: before Charles VIII. France had carried on war with her neighbours, in Spain, Flanders, and in England.

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in the midst of all their treasures, which they have obtained by boundless power and absolute authority. This is no paradox. The prince who can do much, thinks he can do everything, and undertakes everything, without perceiving a capital error in the computation of his strength, the impoverishment and ruin of his subjects, which is always aggravated as his desires increase, and at last reduces him to total weakness.

I say nothing of the troubles arising from endeavours to satiate an avarice in itself insatiable. The *taille*, which of all arbitrary imposts is indisputably the most pernicious, as the most unjust (for under that name are comprehended all capitations or assessments raised arbitrarily upon particular persons), furnishes us with many striking examples of its bad consequences. How many times has it brought the royal authority into danger! Its first consequence was to deprive Childeric, the father of Clovis, of his throne; and some time afterwards it cost Chilperic his life; for he was assassinated by Bodillon, a French gentleman, in revenge for the ignominious treatment which he received from the prince, for having represented with a little freedom of speech the danger of an exorbitant tax which he was going to establish. A similar tax under Philip Augustus produced an insurrection of the nobility, which defeated the design. Others, who have succeeded better in this undertaking, have afterwards felt such violent remorse of conscience, that they have been forced to set themselves at ease by an absolution from the pope. Saint-Louis left no injunction so forcibly to his son, as that of raising no money upon his subjects against their will, and without their consent. Philip de Valois, who got rid of all such scruples, found the consequences of raising taxes, and saw his chief cities in arms against him. He assisted, before he was king, at an *Assemblée des Notables*, in the reign of Louis, surnamed Hutin, in which it was decreed, that every king should, when he was consecrated, take an oath to lay no new taxes upon his people without the authority of an assembly of the three estates. To this decree John I. and Charles V. submitted, and made modest demands of supplies, which were granted them. A tax assessed upon particular people, without an assembly of the States, or consent of the nation, was looked upon as not the least evil in the reign of Charles VI., a reign so full of unfortunate

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events, that it may be called the grave of the French laws and the French morals. Under Charles VII., who had to drive the English out of his country, that necessity, which lessened the murmurs of the people, increased the evil. He had the address to change that tribute into a stated and settled payment; which, from being a personal assessment, had the name of *taille*. It was, however, established in different provinces in different forms; in some it was called a poll-tax, in others a tax upon estates, in others a mixed tax; it was fixed by Charles VII. at one million eight hundred thousand livres. Let us now see what progress it has made in each of the succeeding reigns, down to our time.

Louis XI. augmented the *taille* to four million seven hundred thousand livres. In the year 1498, at the time of the death of Charles VIII., it appears that there were paid into the exchequer, when all expenses were deducted, four million four hundred and sixty-one thousand six hundred and nineteen livres: in 1515, at the death of Louis XII., four million eight hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred and seventeen livres. It made at once a prodigious advance under Francis I., who at his death left it raised to fourteen million forty-four thousand one hundred and fifteen livres. Henry II. left it at no more than twelve million ninety-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-three livres. It continued to shrink in the two following reigns, being in the time of Francis II. only eleven million one hundred and four thousand nine hundred and seventy-one livres; and in that of Charles IX. but eight million six hundred and thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight livres. The reign of Henry III. favoured it much, if we take a view of it, not as it stood at the time when he was stripped of great part of his kingdom, as about the year of his death, but in 1581, for instance, when it brought in thirty-one million six hundred and fifty-four thousand four hundred livres. Henry the Great, instead of suffering himself to be carried away by a bad example, was content, though he had immense debts to clear, and great charges to support, with receiving only sixteen million clear money, half from the *tailles*, and half from the farms.

If, notwithstanding all this, Henry found means to put twenty million into his coffers, as we shall find he did, he

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owed it to a frugality which was not known in those reigns and which would probably have been looked on as scandalous. Foreigners could no longer meddle in the finances with impunity. This year the elector palatine wrote to me from Heidelberg, earnestly pressing me to procure him the reimbursement of some money, which, he said, he had lent to the king, and for which in eight years he had only drawn one single assignment. Carl Paul, a councillor, and gentleman in ordinary to this elector, was sent to me with great offers of service from his master, to prosecute this affair. The place I held often procured me compliments from foreign princes. The Duke of Savoy, when he sent the Sieur Jacob to his majesty to congratulate him on the birth of his third son, sent me at the same time a very polite and obliging letter.

The Duchess of Lorraine's sickness brought the Duke of Mantua into Lorraine, and from thence into France. This princess was so ill after her lying-in, that the physicians long despaired of her life: she had had but one child, which was a daughter, who was extremely well, and the mother at length recovered. Their majesties appeared to be greatly interested in her recovery, and neglected nothing to make the Duke of Mantua's stay in France agreeable to him: they entertained him with a great many fine ballets, and still better repasts, for which the king paid a severe penance, by the great quantity of medicines he was obliged to take afterwards. The Duke of Mantua did not repass the Alps till the middle of October, carrying with him a large sum of money, which he had won from the king at play. There were still four thousand pistoles due to him when he went away, which, at parting, he desired Henry to pay to his commissioner. His majesty sent me an order for it in a note which Edouard brought me.

The negotiations for a peace, or a long truce, were still continued in the Low Countries at the Hague, the place chosen for the conferences, but in such a manner, that it was long believed the mark, which had been thought so near, would be removed for ever,—such difficulties arose, through distrust, enmity, and a diversity of interest. A certain Spanish Cordelier, who was employed very much in this affair by his Catholic majesty, passing through Paris, had the honour to be presented to the king, whom he endea-

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voured to persuade that the peace would be soon concluded. Don Pedro* caused a report to be spread through all Paris, that the couriers, which were to carry the news of it to Spain, would speedily arrive. The king, and all those who were informed of the true state of things, by the despatches sent from Jeannin, and the rest of his majesty's agents in the Low Countries, could not give credit to these reports; and with reason, since from that time, till the end of September, and October, and so on, all the remaining part of the year, nothing was effected. It is not certain that the obstacle proceeded from the Spaniards. It is the safest way, therefore, to leave this point doubtful. As for the archdukes, they laboured in earnest for the peace. His most Christian majesty, though contrary to his own interests, gave also the most pacific counsels: but things were brought to such a point, that this was the only part Henry thought he ought to take.

With respect to the Prince of Orange, if he was not the sole enemy to the peace, he was, at least, the most declared one. These are the reasons and pretensions made use of by him and his partisans, to prevent its taking place: That whatever desire Spain might appear to have, either for a peace or a long truce, yet she would never agree to it, with the condition of renouncing, formally and expressly, all sovereignty over the United Provinces; and yet, without this clause, these provinces could have no dependance upon treaties, since otherwise the Spaniards would still have a right to secure the harbours, forts, soldiers, and sailors;

* Don Pedro was ambassador from Spain at the court of France; his presence there was far from being agreeable to Henry IV., since he was not unacquainted with that minister's cabals, to engage his council in the Spanish interest. (See Vittorio Siri, Mem. Recond. vol. i.; Le Grain, Decade de Henry le Grand, b. x.; L'Etoile, and other historians.) Le Grain relates the following repartee from Henry IV. to Don Pedro, who, saying to him that he saw nobody so ill lodged at Fontainebleau as God, Henry made answer, "We Frenchmen lodge God in our hearts, not between four walls, like you Spaniards; and yet I should doubt, if you were to lodge him in your hearts as we do, that he would there be in a lodging of stone. But do not you see," said he afterwards, smiling, "that my chapel is not yet finished? I do not intend to leave it in the condition it now is; there are few gentlemen in my kingdom who have not a chapel in their houses; I do not intend mine shall want one."

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would draw to themselves all the trade, and open, a second time, the way to tyranny: that during the truce they would find means to lull all the best and wisest of the people into a lethargy, and put the disaffected and mercenary among them into motion; and the Catholic party in those provinces having already a strong inclination for the Spanish dominion would rise, declare themselves openly, and bring all or the greatest part, of the country into their measures; so that, on the expiration of the truce, Spain would have an opportunity to finish the war at one blow;* that the peace, if the treaty might be called so, had no security in a truce, which the King of Spain would break whenever his designs were ripe for execution. The Princess of Orange wrote to me soon after in almost the same terms, except only, that, although she observed to me that the troops, the towns, and even whole provinces, were of her son-in-law's opinion, and faithfully devoted to the whole house of Nassau, yet she could not dissemble, that the contrary party was at least as strong as theirs.

Prince Maurice, who thought in the same manner, did not fail to use his endeavours to gain the king. In October, he sent Lambert, the son, with a letter to his majesty, in which he told him he might give absolute credit to whatever he should say to him in his name. Lambert highly extolled his master's design: he endeavoured to persuade the king that things were brought to such a point, that the Marquis Spinola, the President Richardot, and the Spanish commissioners, had been thanked and dismissed on the 1st of this month. All this so much the more surprised his majesty's councillors, who were present at this report of Lambert, as Berny, in the despatches he had sent before, had acquainted the king that the equipages of these Spanish deputies, and themselves likewise, were expected at Brussels on the 4th of October. They would have persuaded his majesty that, now, both his friends and his enemies would think themselves happy to receive from him whatever conditions he should be pleased to impose upon them. This was what Villeroy wrote

* Spain, in reality, renewed the war against the Flemings more vigorously than ever in the year 1621, when the truce expired.

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to me, when he gave me a full account of this affair, sending me likewise, to Gergeau, where I then was, a copy of the Prince of Orange's letter. But the king was not so precipitate: Lambert's discourse appeared to him, from several circumstances, very doubtful. He saw no letter from the council of the States: that from the prince seemed full of reserve and artifice. Maurice himself had hitherto acted in a manner so little conformable to his professions, that there was sufficient reason for holding him suspected. When Lambert added that Zealand would rather come under the dominion of the English than consent to an agreement with Spain, and that the Dutch entreated his majesty would at least keep himself neutral, if he would not assist his allies as formerly, since, if they only remained possessed of these towns, they would still find employment for the Spaniards fifty years longer,—Henry, in these words, saw nothing but an extravagant boast, full of falsehood, or at least of most gross artifice, which appeared plainer when Lambert advanced a thousand other things, that, if true, Jeannin could not have been ignorant of, and of which he had not given his majesty any account. According to Lambert, Barnevelt and Aërsens were disgraced, and even in danger of being prosecuted; and in several towns of the States it had been deliberated in their councils, whether they should not take a resolution to submit themselves to the French sovereignty. Strange, how all this could be carried on so secretly, that in Flanders people should be wholly ignorant such designs were forming! But, indeed, the language of Lambert did not always agree with the letter he brought from the Prince of Orange.

I am of opinion that, if his majesty had seen probability in any of these proposals, such, for example, as that of receiving the Dutch under his dominion, he would not have needed any spur to animate him to the undertaking; for he sometimes could not hinder himself from being a little offended with Jeannin for not turning his views that way: but at length Henry took a wiser resolution, which was quietly to hear and see all that passed, without appearing either willing to retard, or solicitous to accomplish the peace, and suffer them to agree in whatever manner they pleased, without interposing in the affair. He ordered Jeannin to conduct him-

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self according to this plan; and, willing to have my advice he sent me an exact account of everything by Villeroy, and sent Lambert to me likewise. This agent talked to me in the same manner as he had done to his majesty; but I had in the Princess of Orange's letter alone, a good preservative against his arts. He could find nothing to answer me, although probably he was not well pleased with my sincerity, nor with the epithets of base, and ungrateful, which I so freely bestowed on the States.

I answered Villeroy only by letters; and in these I did not disclose all my thoughts, but referred him to my return for a fuller explanation. It was to the king alone that I chose to declare my true sentiments of all that passed in Flanders. Although Prince Maurice had not always exactly followed the plan of conduct he had laid down, and had even sometimes deviated from it plainly enough; yet it was neither strange nor surprising that he should endeavour to support, even to the last extremity, a resolution in which his honour could not but be deeply interested: but as to Henry, it did not become a great general, and a powerful monarch, to intrude himself into affairs in which his interposition was not sought for; his dignity required that he should examine well what was proposed, and not act precipitately. With respect to the States, if it was with their concurrence that Maurice made these offers, it was done too late, and unseasonably. They had committed faults against his majesty, which they sought to repair; or, rather, they added to that ingratitude they had shown to the king the shameful design of making him still their dupe. The offer of Zealand to England was a mere fable, and all the rest collusion, deceit, and artifice, to which it was not fit his majesty should answer any otherwise, than by continuing to interpose in the affairs of these provinces just as much as was convenient for his interest and his glory.

It was partly on this account that Henry so earnestly wished for my return from Gergeau. In Flanders everything continued in a state of doubt and uncertainty, of which all the advices that came from thence partook. It happened that the original of the instructions given by the archdukes to the deputies, when they were sent to the Hague, fell into the hands of the Prince of Orange; either the paper had

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been forgotten by the President Richardot,* or was stolen from him; or he intentionally suffered it to be seen, to please the Catholics, to whom those instructions were very favourable. Maurice exclaimed loudly against it, and often made use of it to animate his partisans. The conferences often languished, but were not interrupted: war was become impossible, and, consequently, an agreement was absolutely necessary. This only was past a doubt, that whatever sincerity both parties might seem to profess, yet they sought carefully to prevent a true interpretation of their words, that they might not want a motive for renewing the war as soon as they could do it with any probability of success. If, therefore, France lost a favourable opportunity for humbling her rival, she had reason to expect that a much better would present itself, provided that, till then, she took care to manage her strength. "I am still of opinion," said his majesty in a letter he wrote me, "that in this affair God will strike a blow which men little expect, and which will blast all their designs. Thus have I seen it happen during thirty years, and always to my advantage. May it still be so; and I entreat with my whole heart that my faults and ingratitude may not hinder it."

By able politicians another observation was made, still more important than the preceding, which was, that the power of Spain was now beginning to decline. If they judged thus, it was not surely on account of the respect shown by the King of Spain and the archdukes for his majesty's agents, particularly Jeannin; the restrictions she kept with regard to the Dutch made it evident that she still possessed the same arrogance and ambition; and that she either would not confess, or was herself ignorant of, her weakness; but when a State is seen to want strength and good conduct, when fortune and opportunities are let slip, its decline is then no longer a matter of mere conjecture, but may be pronounced absolutely certain.

Of this, however, we had other proofs from what passed upon the frontiers of Navarre and Béarn. The Spaniards having renewed their former quarrels concerning the boun-

* John Richardot, President of the Privy Council in the Low Countries, was a good negotiator: he had been concerned in the treaty of Vervins. He died the next year.

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daries of these two kingdoms, Henry, who was determined to give up nothing, wrote me to confer with the chancellor about this affair, and to send one of the privy councillors to confer about it with the Spanish ambassador, rather to clear himself of the consequences this quarrel might produce, than with any expectation that it would be composed by this method. His majesty, with the same view, wrote to La Force,* to whom alone all the authority over that frontier was confided, to support his rights by the most speedy and efficacious means he could think of; and as it could not be expected that the inhabitants of that country could furnish him with great supplies, I received orders to reimburse to him all the expenses he had already been at, and to provide him with a sufficient fund for the future.

However, these precautions were all useless. Upon the first complaints made by La Force to the Viceroy of Arragon, he was promised a ratification of all that he should demand, and, contrary to the custom of the council of Madrid, without any delay. The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were full of disaffected persons, who, upon any appearance of a rupture, were ready to join the enemy; and the council of Spain was not ignorant, that many of them had already offered their service to France. La Force, to whom they applied, gave his majesty notice of it; and added, that, although he was convinced no great dependance could be placed on the restless and uncertain temper of these people, yet an opportunity now offered which could not fail of giving success to their designs, provided only that it was immediately made use of; that the Spaniards, with all their art and skill, could not conceal their weak and exhausted condition, which no one was any longer ignorant of; and that the affairs of the government were in the utmost confusion. La Force had never before written either to his majesty or me in terms like these; and he was more likely than any other person to know the true state of things, as well with regard to this as to another faction, which gave great apprehensions to the council of Madrid, though it was formed only by the wretched remains of a people almost wholly extirpated—I mean the Moors.

To make this understood, it is necessary I should give a

* James Nompar de Caumont, afterwards Duke of La Force.

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place here to a transaction which I could not introduce elsewhere without interrupting the narration. Henry, when only King of Navarre, was strongly persuaded in his own mind that he should one day assist himself against Spain with these domestic enemies, less considerable indeed for their number than the deep resentment they were believed to preserve against their oppressors. The Moors, on their side, learning by public report that the Protestant party, which they knew to be very powerful in France, and always opposite to Spain, had a King of Navarre at their head,—that is, a prince, from two powerful motives, the enemy of that crown,—began again to solicit the interest of all those persons who could be useful to them in procuring his protection; and, among others, they applied to Messieurs de Saint-Geniés and D'Odou, promising them to excite an almost general insurrection in Spain, provided they were sure of being supported. All they demanded was a general, and some good officers, to whom they promised an absolute obedience. They offered to furnish all the money that was necessary for this enterprise, assuring them that they would have reason to be satisfied both with the number of their soldiers and their courage and resolution. An asylum in France, with the free enjoyment of their effects, and the liberty of their persons, were all the conditions annexed by them to this proposal. As to religion, they seemed disposed to a very easy composition, since they offered to embrace that which was professed in the kingdom; not the Roman Catholic religion (for the tyranny of the Inquisition had rendered this second servitude more insupportable than the first), but the Protestant. They found that it would be no difficult matter to accommodate themselves to a form of worship unencumbered with images and ceremonies, and of which one God only, equally adored and invoked by all, was almost the sole object.

Saint-Geniés and D'Odou did not fail to make a faithful report of all this to the King of Navarre, when he took that journey into Béarn and Foix which we have already mentioned. Henry ordered them to get exact information from the Moors what forces they could muster, what arms they had occasion for, what money they could promise to contribute, and by what methods they proposed to begin an enterprise of such consequence. These two gentlemen at

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first employed only one person in this negotiation, who was an officer called Captain Danguin; but in proportion as their correspondence increased, they employed twelve others; and the secret, though entrusted to so many persons, was so carefully kept that the Spaniards had not the least suspicion of this conspiracy, till they received notice of it from Nicholas L'Hôte, that secretary of Villeroy whose history has been already related. They afterwards made a full discovery, and the affair appeared to be of so much the more importance, as it was proved that this party, at first very inconsiderable, was then joined by more than five hundred thousand persons. Two things had concurred to make it so formidable: first, the succours they had the address and leisure to procure from the Turks, the great enemies of Spain; and, secondly, the interest that many natural Spaniards took in the affair.

The council of Madrid, upon the first notice of this rebellion, having deliberated whether it would not be proper to clear the country of these Moors, by obliging them all to repass the sea, communicated this resolution to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom of Valencia, where it was received so ill, that a sedition was raised in several provinces, the nobility of which, keeping many of these Moors in slavery, could not consent to their banishment, without losing, at the same time, one-fourth part of their revenues. They therefore took up arms against those who came to signify to them the new order of the council of Spain. The viceroy thought to have appeased this first tumult, by sending the principal officer for the administration of justice to the mutineers, whom the chancery called the regent. This regent was a timid old man, who, seeing himself suddenly surrounded with arms and a furious mob, fell dead in the midst of them.

In such a conjuncture the Spanish council could no longer dissemble their weakness: it was indeed but too palpable, by their tamely suffering, for a long time, a revolt in the midst of the kingdom, without using any efforts to quell it. The Moors, who had not expected to be so cautiously dealt with, became more bold: they renewed their solicitations to Henry, who could not now, as when he was King of Navarre only, evade their request by alleging that he was too weak, and had too many difficulties to encounter, to make any great efforts in their favour. The Moors, determined, at all

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events, to shake off the Spanish yoke, entreated him only to receive them into the number of his subjects, on whatever conditions he pleased; but the same considerations which hindered him from openly espousing the party of the United Provinces, on an occasion wherein he was more nearly interested, forbade him likewise from declaring himself the deliverer of a people who were more immediately the subjects of Spain, at a great distance, and who demanded a naval armament, for the centre of the revolt was in Valencia, Murcia, and Granada; without taking in many other reasons drawn from the character of this people, and without laying any stress upon the usual vicissitudes of war, which distance always conceals, or partly disguises. All this considered, his majesty certainly could not be blamed for not answering more favourably the desires of the Moorish nation. I leave the reader to judge, if, during this whole time, the council of Madrid, which was well informed of all that was projecting, could be very easy. They had suffered for five years a malady, which they had but too great a certainty of, to take deep root. At length they thought proper to make an effort, and resumed their design of shipping off all the Moors that were in Spain, a design which was now believed more difficult to execute than before, as a report was spread that the Turks were cruising near Majorca to prevent the blow. It was therefore necessary to fit out a fleet to oppose theirs. October came without anything appearing either on one side or the other; and the whole year passed, during which no mention was made by the Spaniards, who knew that the Barbarians waited for them with a body of ten thousand foot and five thousand horse, fully determined to defend themselves bravely. The battle, however, proved favourable to the Spaniards, and time furnished them with the means of totally ridding themselves of an enemy* who had no longer any resources. This, however, could not be done without the loss of five hundred thousand subjects to Spain;† for

* The Moors, with one Barbarossa at their head, gave battle to the Spaniards, in which they were defeated, and were obliged to leave Spain the year after. (See "Le Merc. Franç.," and other historians.)

† Others make them amount to seven or eight hundred thousand; a wound to Spain which has never yet been healed, but from whence no benefit accrued to us, though it was easy for us to have derived advan-

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that was the number of persons she banished out of her States, after depriving them of all their effects.

The emperor treated the city of Donawert, in Germany, with equal severity, though he had less right to do so. He seized it, although it was one of the Imperial cities, deprived it of the greatest part of its privileges, and its inhabitants of the liberty of conscience. This violence excited many murmurs there, and was the cause of many disorders.

tage from it: for though we had not given assistance to those unfortunate people, as Cardinal Richelieu afterwards did to the Portuguese on a similar occasion, we might, at least, have given them an asylum in France, had it been only in the uncultivated parts of Bordeaux, where they in vain, as it is said, desired leave to settle. This false step of the government is judiciously pointed out by the author of "L'Essai Politique sur le Commerce." "To cultivate barren ground," says he on this subject, "is conquering a new country without prejudice to any one." It may be said that the same reasons which made it expedient to drive the Moors out of Spain, were equally strong against their reception in France. But it would have been easy to take the advantage of the miserable condition they were in, to have imposed on them whatever terms might have been thought expedient.

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